

**UNFOLDING LAYERED CULTURES**  
**PRESERVATION OF GERMAN COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE IN**  
**QINGDAO, CHINA, 1897-1914**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Colonial architecture, as a concrete representation of both the local culture and invading culture, has its unique values to both colonists and the colonized. Along with the colonized history in China, which started from around 1553, Qingdao is a typical colony that can reflect well the combination and conflicts between local culture and invading culture. In addition, as a colony owned by two different colonial powers successively, it was influenced by multiple cultures, and which is also reflected in colonial architecture there. This thesis seeks to unfold the layered culture of German colonial architecture built from 1897 to 1914 to examine changes under different governments' control. By analyzing changes in German colonial architecture, it is possible to recognize people's attitudes toward colonial architecture and how the government at the time influenced people's thoughts when facing the same thing. In this sense, it can help to determine how to evaluate different historical layers and define significance for the preservation of colonial architecture in China.

Starting from the Ming dynasty (1369-1644), many parts of China became colonies of Western countries. By 1897, Germany had become one of the significant competitive nations of the worldwide industrial revolution. Unlike Britain or France, however, Germany was a latecomer to establishing a stronghold in East Asia. After compelling the Jiaozhou Bay concession from the Qing Dynasty, imperial Germany transformed Qingdao, a former fishing village, into a relatively big city with seaport and military facilities. Germany planned the city for long-term occupation; thus, infrastructure and public buildings were designed based on architectural styles and technologies of the time. However, the Germans stayed in Qingdao for just seventeen years, being displaced by the Japanese after 1914. From 1891 to 1949, Qingdao had in total experienced seven significant historical periods, which are the Qing dynasty, Germany, the First time of Japanese rule, Beiyang, the Nanjing Nationalist, the Second time of Japanese rule, and the Nationalist.

Overall, the development of Qingdao reflects different characteristics under each different government's control. By unfolding the layered cultures in German colonial architecture in Qingdao one can help define preservation and renovation of colonial architecture in China in the future.



## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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Finally, I would like to thank my parents, without whom, I couldn't get so far. Thank you very much for all your love, patience, and support.

**NOTES:** For all the Chinese names in the thesis, the author follows Chinese practice. It means that for every person of Chinese origin, the family name comes before the given name.

**GLOSSARY OF PLACE NAME**

| Simplified Chinese | Traditional Chinese | German        | Wade-Giles Romanization | English                        |
|--------------------|---------------------|---------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 青岛                 | 青島                  | Tsingtau      | Chingtau/<br>Tsingtao   | Qingdao                        |
| 胶州                 | 膠州                  | Kiautschou    | Kiaochow/<br>Kiauchau   | Jiaozhou                       |
| 大鲍岛                | 大鮑島                 | Tapautau      |                         | Dabaodao                       |
| 台西镇                | 台西鎮                 | Taihsitschen  |                         | Taixizhen                      |
| 台东镇                | 台東鎮                 | Taitungtschen |                         | Taidongzhen                    |
| 八大关                | 八大關                 |               |                         | Badaguan/Eight<br>Great Passes |

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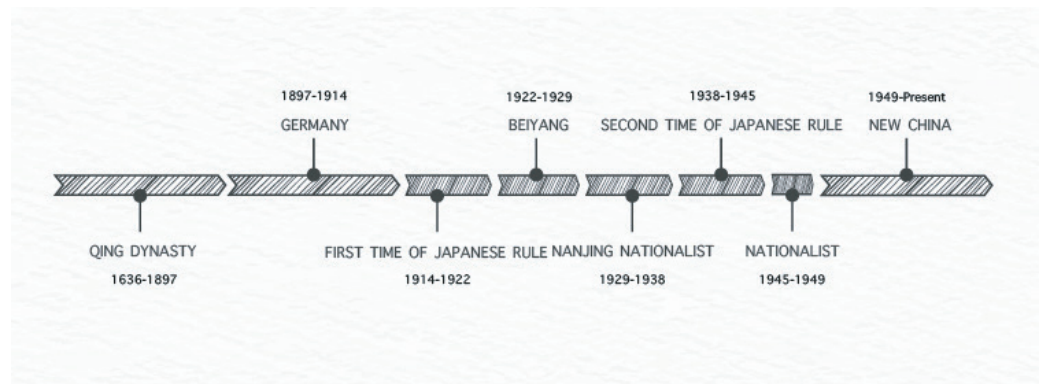
## 01 INTRODUCTION

Qingdao, in the province of Shandong, China, is a relatively new city with little more than a one-hundred-year history. However, unlike most other Chinese coastal cities that functioned as harbor and industrial based places, it is a municipality built on hills and filled-in marshland, resulting in its unique urban planning based on the natural topography.

Historically, China was recognized as a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society between 1840 and 1949. As a country with a long history, it is not very easy to recognize its colonial history, since China was partially colonized, while the rest was not. According to the situation, even among colonies in China, Qingdao is a unique example. It is one of the only cities that was fully established and planned by Germans. Combined with the legacies of other later political powers, the city is an excellent example to show the development of a colonial city and the changing attitude towards colonial architectures that remained after the Germans had left.

From 1891 to 1949, Qingdao experienced seven significant historical periods: they are the Qing Dynasty, the German colonial period, the First era of Japanese rule, Beiyang, the Nanjing Nationalist period, the Second era of Japanese rule, and the Nationalist period. (Figure 1) The development of Qingdao reflects different characteristics under different governments' control. People's attitudes towards German colonial architecture during different periods change, and it is interesting to see how the governments at changed over time, and it is revealing to notice how the governments at the time influence people's perceptions of these buildings. With both conflicts of political movements and the combination of Eastern and Western culture, it is meaningful to explore how to evaluate the

Figure 1. Qingdao City Formation Chronology.



different historical layers and define the significance for the preservation of colonial architecture.

### 1.1 Research Questions

This thesis examines the German colonial architecture in Qingdao and the interaction between its changing social context and the current “preservation”. In order to explore this principal topic, the following questions are examined:

- What does German colonial history mean to the local community in Qingdao? As a nationality, are there any benefits or disadvantages gained from colonial history?
- Even though there is many well preserved German colonial buildings, does that mean the local people are proud or happy with these buildings? If not, then why do the local citizens continue to protect these structures?
- Other colonial periods followed the German colonial era.. How did those colonial powers react to what remained of the German period? Did they think these buildings were useful or not? What standards did they use to preserve these buildings? Did they have an impact on the local community about how to preserve these buildings? Based on all these questions, what might be the proper way of preserving colonial architecture now and in the future?

## **1.2 Methodology**

This thesis aims to explore the preservation of German colonial architecture in Qingdao, and how that effort relates to political, economic, and social changes, including the decision making. Instead of merely focusing on structural and material analyses, it would be more focused on what changes had been made during the different periods and what events or ideas influenced the preservation of German colonial architecture in Qingdao. In this sense, the thesis uses tools that can help preservation experts recognize the overall historic and cultural landscapes in Qingdao, which relate directly to the current preservation situation of colonial buildings in Qingdao.

To advance the thesis topic, this research uses a range of approaches, including a literature review, a chronological study of Qingdao and German colonial architecture, explored in the context of social, political and economic background research, and case studies of three typical German colonial structures, which are the Changzhou Road prison complex, the Germania brewery, and the Qingdao railway station.

### **(1) Literature Review**

The literature review includes the scholarly texts and cultural reviews about the topics of German colonial architecture in Qingdao, the development of urban planning in Qingdao, and the preservation of architecture in Qingdao. It is included separately in section 1.3.

### **(2) Chronological studies of Qingdao as a German colony**

The historical studies of Qingdao focus on understanding the general history of Qingdao in order to get a clear picture of a German colony in East Asia. In this chapter, the analysis conducted through the literature review concentrates on the history, political systems, the social context, and the economic development of Qingdao. The analysis helps to summarize different political and social characteristics during different time periods. In this way, it seeks to show the development of Qingdao and how the city continues to be influenced by German



colonial culture even into the future. Following that, the research explores how the development of the city affects the exact preservation of German colonial architecture during different time periods.

This thesis examines three representative phases. Each of these symbolizes a different political system and social background.

The first phase can be located in ancient China, before Qingdao became a German colony. During this period, there were many shifts of political powers and ruling systems. Therefore, Qingdao was paralyzed in a state of uncertainty concerning its affiliation. Moreover, the Jiaozhou Bay area did not have any economic supports as an international trading hub and navy base before Germany's arrival. Therefore, understanding the circumstance of Qingdao's situation during the ancient Chinese period is vital for recognizing the development made later on by Germany.

The second phase is the German colonial period. For the city, it is definitely a turning point for its social, political, economic, and cultural development. It is the time when Qingdao enjoyed its own identity of being a 'city,' and its characteristics continued to be recognized to people even in the present day. In order to understand what exactly German did for the city, it is useful to recognize why and what local citizens accepted or rejected.

The third phase begins in 1914 and continues to the present day. Starting with the Japanese government, almost every political power that came to Qingdao followed the planning strategy initiated by the Germans. From the cultural perspective, the invasion from German is much stronger than the one from Japanese, which may lead to a comparison of Eastern and Western cultures. The background information of the comparison can help to explain the phenomenon that appears during the preservation of German colonial architecture in Qingdao.

### **(3) Chronological analysis of German colonial architectural transformations**

The historical analysis studies German colonial architecture as a consequence of traditional Chinese architecture, German architecture, and urban planning. It is conducted through the literature review of traditional Chinese architecture, local German architecture, the development of urban planning, and the German colonial architecture in Qingdao. This analysis helps to understand different styles of architecture and how they are represented in the colonial architecture of Qingdao. Furthermore, in order to recognize how much was of the German colonial architecture was preserved, it helps to examine to what degree the colonial culture was accepted or rejected by the local community.

This thesis examines three representative architectural phases. Each of these symbolizes different architectural and spatial features, including the development of urban planning in Qingdao.

The first phase is traditional Chinese architecture in Qingdao. These vernacular buildings used to be the temporary administrative buildings for the German government. Moreover, the construction techniques and materials of traditional Chinese architecture did influence the choice of German architects when they designed buildings in Qingdao. It is the starting point of German colonial architecture in Qingdao.

The second phase is the development of German architecture. The development of German architecture back in Germany influenced the German colonial architecture in Qingdao at the same time. Along with this process, German architects developed their unique way of designing German-style buildings in Qingdao. The adjustment of building technology and materials made the German colonial architecture in Qingdao a completely new type of design style.

The third phase is the development of urban planning in Qingdao. The German government made the initial plan. Following the same planning strategy and

Figure 2. Current  
Changzhou Road Prison  
Complex, Qingdao, China.



style, the governments following Germany kept developing the city and make Qingdao even more like a western city. Under such circumstances, the urban planning policies related to the look of the city influenced the preservation decision for the German colonial architecture in Qingdao.

#### **(4) Case studies**

This thesis uses the Changzhou Road Prison Complex, the Germania Brewery, and the Qingdao Railway Station as case studies to further explore the research questions.

Changzhou Road Prison Complex is a prison specifically built for European prisoners during the German colonial period. (Figure 2) Unlike the prison for Chinese prisoners, the Changzhou Road Prison Complex is located at a scenic spot within the European district. Along with the shift of political powers, it keeps its original function as a prison, except the prisoners are not just Europeans anymore. Currently, the complex is a patriotic education base and museum to show the history of the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression. It is an example of a government building that was rapidly built and is relatively well preserved.



Figure 3. Current Germaniawerke Brewery, Qingdao, China.

The Germaniawerke Brewery is the original site for Tsingtao Beer. (Figure 3) It is now a museum for showing the history of beer and the brewery itself in order to advertise its enterprise culture to people. As a landmark for Qingdao, Tsingtao Beer attracts different types of tourists to visit Qingdao. The brewery is a successful site for the attraction. With almost all equipment existing in the original site, the brewery demonstrates the complete process of making beers and documents changes from the German colonial period until today. It is an example of an industrial building owned by an enterprise and is relatively well preserved.

The Qingdao Railway Station is the starting point of the Jiao Ji Railway. It used to be an essential transfer point for the merchandise in Qingdao during the German colonial period. The station has experienced several renovations. These renovations escalated from adding an extension to remove the original station and magnify it in similar ratio at the place hundreds of meters away from the original site. It is a reflection of the development of Qingdao, but at the same time, the most controversial example of a public building being preserved as “well” preserved. (Figure 4)





Figure 4. Current Qingdao  
Railway Station Campanile,  
Qingdao, China.

### 1.3 Literature Review

There are several books and articles related to Qingdao and German colonial architecture. In the book *Modern Chinese Cities and Architecture* (《中国近代城市与建筑》), the author Yang Bingde generally describes the development of modern China and Chinese architecture. Within the book, there is a chapter mentioned Qingdao as a city colonized by Germany and Japan, called *Germany and Japan invaded the emerging city Qingdao* (【德国、日本先后侵占的新兴城市青岛】 ). Tang Xueyi and Xu Feipeng, who are both experts about Qingdao German colonial architecture, wrote this chapter and had a detailed description of the development of Qingdao architecture during these two colonial periods. Lu An, in his book *Modern and Contemporary History of Qingdao* (《青岛近现代史》), introduced the modern and local history of Qingdao from the historical perspective. On the other hand, Xu Feipeng (also one of the authors for the chapter in Yang Bingde's book), who is a professor at Qingdao University of Science and Technology, participated in compiling the *Chinese*

*Modern Architecture Overview · Qingdao Chapter* (《中国近代建筑总览·青岛篇》), which detailedly discussed the formation and evolution of Qingdao's modern architecture.

In Chen Li's book *Wedge and Acculturation—Qingdao Urban Architecture during the German Leasing Period* (《楔入与涵化--德租时期青岛城市建筑》), it summarizes and analyzes the fusion of Chinese and Western architectural culture during the German colonial period. It is a significant book for guiding the research on architectural building technology during the German colonial period.

Furthermore, Ren Yinmu from Nanjing University has analyzed the modern urbanization process of Qingdao, which helps to understand the impact of buildings on the urban development in Qingdao during the German colonial period from the urban perspective in his doctoral thesis, *Research on Qingdao Urban Modernization* (《青岛城市现代化研究》). Tang Xia from Qingdao University of Science and Technology systematically evaluates the building technology designed for the Governor's Residence, analyzes its value, and then proposes the possible preservation design of the Governor's Residence in her master thesis *Architecture Technology and Art Research of the Governor's Residence of Qingdao* (《青岛总督官邸的建筑技术与艺术研究》). The overall research method and preservation design are instructive for followers.

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Liu Qing's book *Research on the Protection and Utilization of Qingdao's Material Cultural Heritage* (《青岛城市物质文化遗产保护与利用研究》) researches the preservation and utilization of Qingdao's tangible cultural heritage from three aspects: historical buildings, historic streets, and the entire old town. In Liu Min's doctoral thesis *Evaluation of Qingdao's Historical and Cultural Cities and Cultural Ecological Protection Update* (《青岛历史文化名城价值评价与文化生态保护更新》), she used evaluation theory and cultural-ecological protection theory to carry out empirical research on the environmental protection of the old town in Qingdao, the core area, the coastal area, the historical block, historical buildings, and the protection of historical space, and explores effective and practical ways to protect and renew urban cultural ecology. Moreover, Hou Xin's book *City Space Theory Based on Cultural Ecology-Taking Tianjin, Qingdao, Dalian as Examples* (《基于文化生态学的城市空间理论 -- 以天津、青岛、大连为例》) has a particular chapter to study the protection and development of foreign urban culture in Tianjin, Qingdao, and Dalian.

Some German researchers also provided detailed work on German architecture in Qingdao. Torsten Warne spent one year in Qingdao and worked on collecting data of German architecture in Qingdao. His book *German Architecture in China* (《德国建筑艺术在中国》) is considered to be the beginning of the "German Architecture in Qingdao" research. The whole book is based on historical documents and field investigations. Thus, the book records different types of modern Qingdao architecture in detail, provides a large amount of historical data, drawings, and images, and presents the basic appearance of Qingdao German architecture in a relatively comprehensive manner. (Figure 5) In Torsten's other work, *Modern Urban Planning and Construction in Qingdao* (《近代青岛的城市规划与建设》), he explores Qingdao's urban development approaches and urban differences and has research values for Chinese urban development models.





Figure 5. Map of Tsingtau and the surrounding area.  
Source: [Electronic ed.]:  
Kiel University Library  
(2012).

In the doctoral thesis *The architectural design of the colonial city of Tsingtau in China 1897-1914* (《Die architektonische Gestaltung der kolonialstadt Tsingtau in China 1897-1914》) Christoph Lind, who is an architectural researcher, introduced the architectural form and development status of Qingdao during the German colonial period.



This chapter reviews the general history of Qingdao in a chronological manner and examines the social changes tied to the German colonial architecture in the city. It aims to introduce the context of Qingdao as a German colony and explores how the city has changed in response to the transformative social milieu. Understanding the transforming social background, helps us to contextualize the research questions of what German colonial history means to the local community in Qingdao and how other colonial powers react to German remains.

### **2.1 Ancient “Kiautschou” Bay (now transliterated Jiaozhou Bay)**

Though Qingdao as a city is quite new compared with other cities in China, the Jiaozhou area has a long history that can be traced back over 6,000 years. It is crucial to examine the history of the ancient Jiaozhou area, especially the time before the Germans owned the colony, because it shows the initial economic and political background and how Germany subsequently influenced the area. Based on historical materials, Jiao’ao Zhi, starting from the Xia Dynasty (2100 B.C. – 1600 B.C.), the Jiao’ao area belongs to the Jimo region, which is a part of State Lai.<sup>1</sup> What was historically State Lai is currently the Changle County, Shandong province in China.<sup>2</sup> During the transformation, the Qingdao area established the second largest city within the current Shandong province, which is called Jimo.<sup>3</sup> During this ancient period, all land in China was assigned by the emperor to royal family members and some officials with high honors. These feudal powers were hereditary; that is, the eldest son is the successor. Therefore, during this period the ownership of the Jiaozhou area was chaotic and turbulent.

1 Yuan, Rongsou. Jiao’ao Zhi /. Taipei : Wen hai chu ban she, 1969. 20.

2 Lu, An. Qingdao Jin Xian Dai Shi. Qingdao Shi, Shandong: Qingdao chu ban she, 2001.

3 Differing from the previous Jimo (region), this one is a city.

After the first emperor of Qin unified all of China, he separated it into thirty-six prefectures and ruled the whole country by using the system of prefectures and counties. At this time, most of the Qingdao area belonged to the Langya prefecture. However, when the Han emperor Liu Bang took over control and established the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C. – A.D. 24), he used both the system of prefectures and counties and the traditional system of vassal states.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, Qingdao belongs to both the Langya prefecture and the Jiaodong state at the same time. Using both of the systems leads to the same complexity of management problems during the three-kingdoms period when the Qingdao area belonged to both the Wei state and Donglai State.

The significance of Qingdao as a harbor became even more critical during the Song Dynasty (A.D. 960 – A.D. 1279) because of the conflict between the Song Dynasty and Jin Dynasty (A.D. 1115 – A.D. 1234). The war between the two governments led to the closedown of harbors in Dengzhou and Laizhou, which made Qingdao one of the most significant transportation hubs in China.<sup>5</sup> During this period, Qingdao was one of the five principal harbors for international trading, and it was the only one in the north part of China.<sup>6</sup> The potential of being an international trading and military transportation hub, which was to be realized much later during the German colonial period, first became apparent during this time.

The organizational system was the same as in the Song Dynasty, and the Qingdao area turned into a formal base for the navy from the Jin Dynasty step by step. Qingdao was also the main area attacked by Japanese pirates during the Ming Dynasty (A.D.1368 – A.D.1644). This phenomenon reflects the initial infrastructure Qingdao had for later navy activities, and the support for the navy against possible attacks. Based on the historical materials, the magistrate of Jimo prefecture, Xu Ting mentioned the natural benefits of the Qingdao

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4 Ma, Ke. “德占时期以来青岛城市规划思想演变研究（1897-1949）Study on Tsingtao Urban Planning Ideology Since the Period Occupied by Germany (1897-1949).” Thesis, Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology, 200906. 7-10.

5 Yuan, Rongsou. *Jiao'ao Zhi* /. Taipei : Wen hai chu ban she, 1969. 19-27.

6 Ibid.



Figure 6. Qingdao called as Jimo prefecture during Qing Dynasty. Source: Qingdao Municipal Archives.

area for being a military hub and its significance in planning the defense.<sup>7</sup> In the book he edited, he said that Qingdao is both suitable for military purposes and for people's comfortable living, which makes Qingdao a perfect place for settlement.<sup>8</sup> Though the "Qingdao" Xu Ting talked about is a small part of the current Qingdao city, these defenses and harbors became the start of Qingdao's transformation from fishery to a significant harbor. Today's Qingdao still keeps its military function as part of the defense for modern China.

At the beginning of the Qing Dynasty, the maritime trade rose, and the agriculture and fishery industries developed speedily as a result. Since Jiaozhou Bay comprised around four hundred kilometers of coastal line and well-developed harbor at the time, all ports at Qingdao were developed, and this is the base of urban planning of modern Qingdao.<sup>9</sup> (Figure 6)

7 Ma, Ke. "德占时期以来青岛城市规划思想演变研究 (1897-1949) Study on Tsingtao Urban Planning Ideology Since the Period Occupied by Germany (1897-1949)." Thesis, Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology, 200906. 7-10.

8 Ibid

9 Wang, Yongle. Qing Dao Shi Hua. Ji nan, Shandong: Shan dong ren min chu ban she, 1985. 10.

光緒十七年五月初八日內閣奉  
 上諭李鴻章張曜奏會同校閱海軍並查勘各海口  
 台隄工程事竣一摺覽奏均悉該大臣等周歷旅  
 順等處調集南北洋輪船會齊合操並將水陸各  
 營以次校閱技藝均尚純熟行陣亦屬整齊各海  
 口礮臺船塢等工俱稱堅固李鴻章盡心籌畫連  
 年布置漸臻周密洵堪嘉許著交部從優議敘張  
 曜會同籌辦著交部議敘各將領訓練士卒修建  
 臺隄不無微勞足錄著准其擇尤保奏以示鼓勵  
 海軍關係至要必須精益求精仍著李鴻章張曜  
 切實講求督飭提鎮各員認真經理以期歷久不  
 懈日起有功另片奏擬在膠州烟台各海口添築  
 礮臺等語著照所請行該衙門知道欽此

Figure 7. The deployment  
 of troops in Jiaozhou  
 Bay made by Emperor  
 Guangxu in June 14, 1891.  
 Source: Qingdao Municipal  
 Archives.

After the Second Opium War in 1856, several European countries attacked the Jiaozhou Bay and tried to secure the place as their colony.<sup>10</sup> Under such circumstances, some people in the Qing government tried to establish a new navy along the Jiaozhou Bay. In 1884, Li Hongzhang started to focus on Jiaozhou Bay and asked the navy to increase their defenses.<sup>11</sup> In 1892, the Qing government finally paid attention to Qingdao, Qingdao eventually became a city with both military and commercial harbors in the north part of China. (Figure 7) At this point, Qingdao gathered all the necessary elements to become a significant city that attracted German's attention.

10 Yuan, Rongsou. Jiao'ao Zhi /. Taipei : Wen hai chu ban she, 1969. 19-27.

11 Ma, Ke. “德占时期以来青岛城市规划思想演变研究 (1897-1949) Study on Tsingtao Urban Planning Ideology Since the Period Occupied by Germany (1897-1949).” Thesis, Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology, 200906. 7-10.



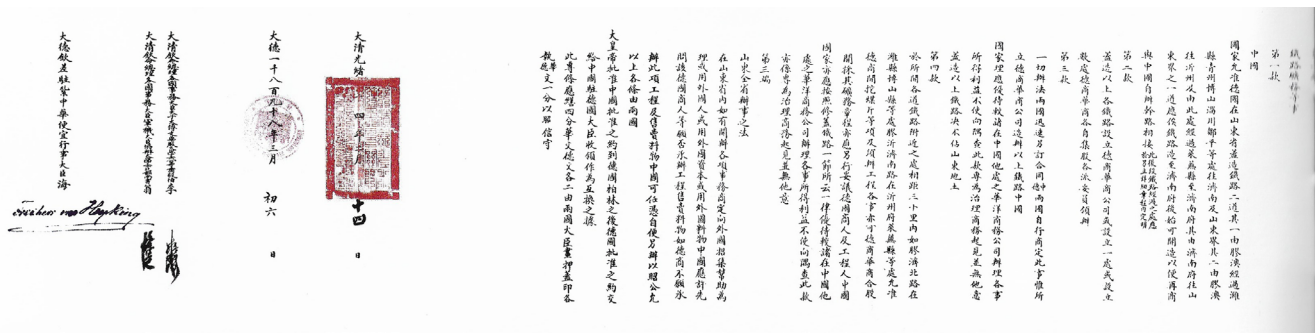


Figure 8. Kiaochow Concession Treaty. Source: Qingdao Municipal Archives.

## 2.2 German Colonial Period

In 1897, the German navy investigated along the coast of China under the command of the Naval Director of Dock Building, Georg Franzius, to evaluate the possibility of multiple choices of bays and islands as a German naval base. Based on the analysis of Jiaozhou Bay, the German government believed that it was the most suitable place for their naval base.<sup>12</sup> They made the decision to invade Qingdao and created it as their navy base in East Asia in May 1897.<sup>13</sup> In November 1897, in response to the murder of two German missionaries from the Catholic mission in Southern Shandong under Bishop von Anzer, Kaiser Wilhelm II issued the order for the German fleet to occupy the bay on November 6, 1897.<sup>14</sup> The murder of the two German missionaries provided the perfect excuse for turning the German invasion plan into reality. Admiral von Diederichs led ships from Shanghai to Shandong and anchored at strategically essential points in the bay.<sup>15</sup> He later landed the troops on November 14, 1897.<sup>16</sup> However, because of the frequent visits made by foreign fleets, around two thousand local Chinese soldiers did not realize the severity of the situation. Even the Chinese General, Zhang Gaoyuan, thought the landing to be a maneuver and not an actual invasion.<sup>17</sup> When Zhang got the demand to withdraw all soldiers within three hours, he was utterly shocked and panic ensued. Zhang quickly surrendered to the German camp without any resistance because of the

12 Warner, Torsten. *Deutsche Architektur in China : Architekturtransfer = German Architecture in China : Architectural Transfer*. Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, c1994. 195.

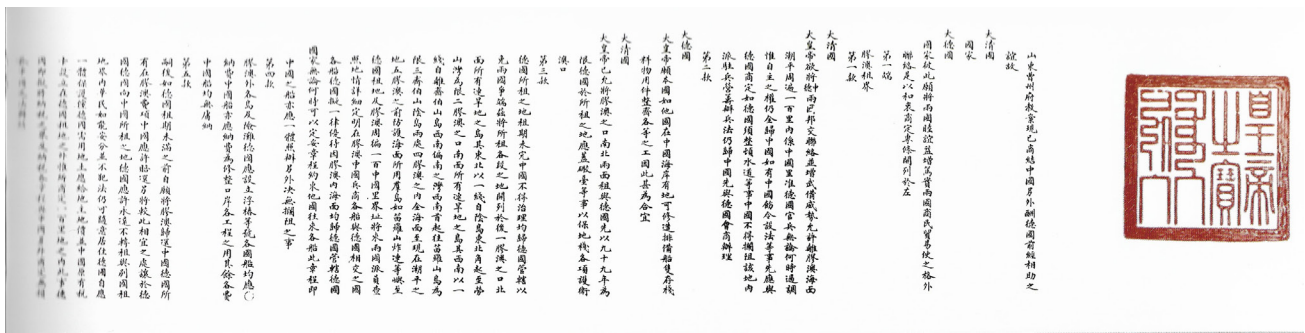
13 Yuan, Rongsou. *Jiao'ao Zhi* /. Taipei : Wen hai chu ban she, 1969. 28-68.

14 Ibid

15 Warner, Torsten. *Deutsche Architektur in China : Architekturtransfer = German Architecture in China : Architectural Transfer*. Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, c1994. 195.

16 Ibid 195.

17 Yuan, Rongsou. *Jiao'ao Zhi* /. Taipei : Wen hai chu ban she, 1969. 28-68.



(Continue) Figure 8. Kiaochow Concession Treaty. Source: Qingdao Municipal Archives.

Germans' overwhelming power. In the end, Germany occupied Qingdao without fight or bloodshed.<sup>18</sup>

On March 6, 1898, the Chinese government signed the *Kiaochow Concession Treaty* (《胶州租借条约》), according to which the German Empire had a 99-year lease of Qingdao. (Figure 8) At the same time, the German government got the right to build railway lines in Shandong and to excavate natural resources along the railway lines.<sup>19</sup>

Before 1897, Qingdao only had a few scattered villages. (Figure 9) Most of the local population made their living from fishing. Therefore, unlike other Chinese coastal cities with foreign concessions, Qingdao was not a traditional trade hub and did not have any commercial background. Therefore, as a result, the only way for Qingdao to attract more people was to provide work opportunities for Chinese workers and traders in this relatively new city.

When the Germans started to found their city, they not only rebuilt the entire infrastructure system within the city but also modified links between inland and sea.<sup>20</sup> One of those links was a vast port that the Germans started to

18 Huguenin, C., *Geschichte des III. See-Bataillons*, Tsingtao 1912, 3-8.

19 The text of this treaty was used as the model for Great Britain's 99 year lease on the "New Territories" near Hongkong. The end of the lease in 1997 and the discussions about the return of the British Crown Colony are reminiscent of parallels with the former German protectorate of Qingdao. Cf. Mohr, F.W., *Handbuch für das Schutzgebiet Kiautschou*, Tsingtao 1911.

20 Warner, Torsten. *Deutsche Architektur in China : Architekturtransfer = German Architecture in China : Architectural Transfer*. Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, c1994. 197.

Figure 9. Qingdao as a fishery village in 1897.  
Source: Bandao Metropolis Daily.



construct, and in March 1904, the first of three piers were finished.<sup>21</sup> Another one is the Shandong Railway that links Qingdao with the capital of Shandong province, which is Jinan. This railway was finished on June 1, 1894, but until the Tianjin-Nanjing railway line (in German called Tientsin-Pukow), which was built between 1908 and 1912, was opened, Qingdao first connected with the international railway network.<sup>22</sup> The Transsiberian Railway from Qingdao to Berlin ran a total of 12,000 kilometers, for a forty-day trip.<sup>23</sup>

Qingdao had poor sanitation conditions during the early phase of the rebuilding process. Many German soldiers died because of the typhus epidemics during 1899 and 1900.<sup>24</sup> The German Governor Paul Jaeschke also died from the infection on January 27, 1901.<sup>25</sup> The situation accelerated the expansion of the city and later made its standard of hygiene into the greatest in the whole of Asia. The Germans not only established wells far away from the urban area

21 Warner, Torsten. *Deutsche Architektur in China : Architekturtransfer = German Architecture in China : Architectural Transfer*. Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, c1994. 198.

22 Li, Ming. *Qingdao Guo Ke: Qingdao Zao Qi Cheng Shi Shi Shang De Deguo Ren = Deutsche in Der frü Hen Geschichte Der Stadt Tsingtau*. Beijing Shi, Beijing: Xin xing chu ban she, 2018. 50-52.

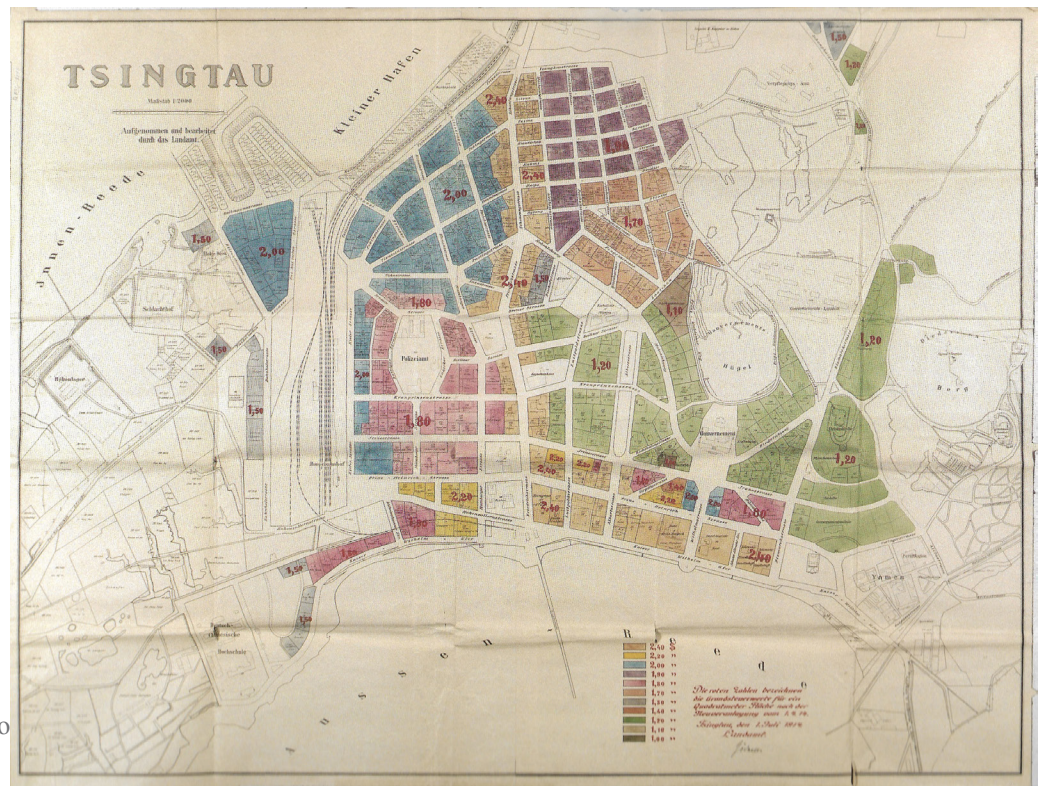
23 Ibid

24 Warner, Torsten. *Deutsche Architektur in China : Architekturtransfer = German Architecture in China : Architectural Transfer*. Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, c1994. 197.

25 Li, Ming. *Qingdao Guo Ke: Qingdao Zao Qi Cheng Shi Shi Shang De Deguo Ren = Deutsche in Der frü Hen Geschichte Der Stadt Tsingtau*. Beijing Shi, Beijing: Xin xing chu ban she, 2018. 208-211.



Figure 10. Qingdao Land Price Map. Source: Qingdao Municipal Archives.



for drinking water, but also created a disposal system that could take away rainwater, sewage, and treated excrement. The urban planning was based on the concept of creating a healthy living environment for both European and Chinese residents, including modern hospitals and clean living accommodation for the troops and civilians.

The land policy executed at Qingdao is unique and was the only one of its kind throughout the German Empire. The system was to let the German Administration pay Chinese landowners an amount of money equal to the annual Chinese ground tax they need to pay to the Qing Government.<sup>26</sup> Consequently, the German Government could get the right to buy the land within the planned city limits.

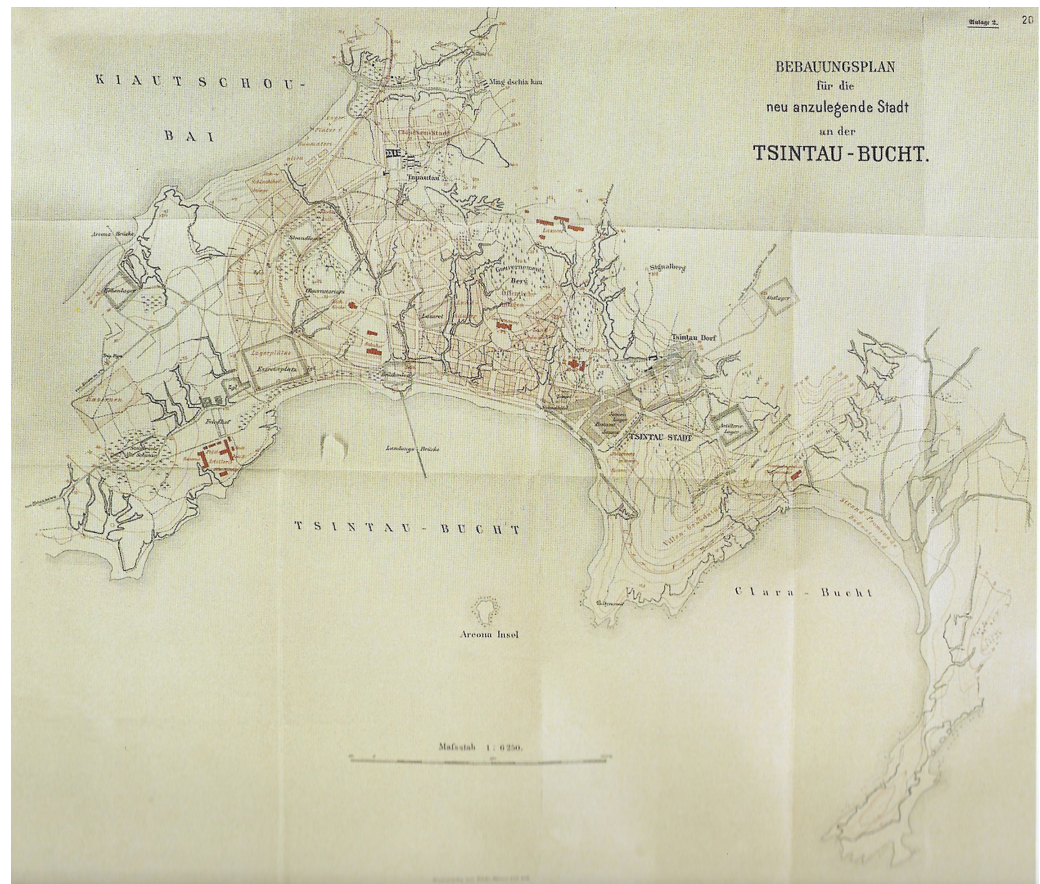
The first auction of plots started on October 3, 1898.<sup>27</sup> After the German Administration finished all the land measurements, road surveys, and urban

26 Cao, Sheng. “德占时期青岛城市建设研究 Study on the Urban Construction of Qingdao during the Period Occupied by Germany.” Thesis, Shandong Normal University, n.d. 13-19.

27 Warner, Torsten. *Deutsche Architektur in China : Architekturtransfer = German Architecture in China : Architectural Transfer*. Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, c1994. 198.



Figure 11. First Urban Planning in September 2, 1898. Source: Qingdao Municipal Archives.



planning, the German Administration acquired its first revenue. Based on the policy, the purchased land had to be built according to the development plan within three years, or there would be a progressive increase in ground tax by three percent every three years up to 24 percent.<sup>28</sup> In order to prevent people from buying land and leaving it unused, the German Administration established the annual ground tax as six percent of the capital value of the land.<sup>29</sup> It is a relatively high price relative to the local interest rate. Moreover, if someone bought the land and resold it at a profit, they had to pay the capital gains tax, which was one-third of the profit after the deduction of the original investment.<sup>30</sup> By acquiring the capital gains tax, the German Administration could get a share in the increase of land values, which was a pioneering policy in the world. (Figure 10)

28 Yang, Li. “近代青岛土地法制研究 (1897 年 -1937 年) Study on the Land Legal System in Modern Tsingtao (1897-1937).” Thesis, Qingdao University, 20180513. 11-18.

29 Ibid

30 Ibid

Qingdao as a city included several districts: the European District, the Villa District, the Chinese Trading District, and two other districts for Chinese workers. (Figure 11) The European District was located at the South hillside of the peninsula and facing the sea. In this district, most buildings were for the Government, such as administrative buildings, hotels, schools, and housing. The Villa District was situated on the Southwestern part of Bismarck Mountain on the edge of the Jiangquan Bay (Auguste-Viktoria-Bucht). The mountain separates the district from the urban center. The majority of residential buildings within the district were for officers in the German government. For example, the first Governor's Residence, the Residence of his adjutant, of the Maritime Customs and Excise Director, Ernst Ohlmer, and the house of the Commissioner for Chinese Affairs, Wilhelm Schrameier.<sup>31</sup> Chinese people were not allowed to live inside the European District except for those who were hired by Europeans. In 1911, after the Chinese Revolution, the Chinese people finally got the right to buy the land and build property to live inside the European District. The Chinese Government was also trying to spread the idea of dividing the area for foreigners and the area for local Chinese people to other cities that opened for foreign trade.<sup>32</sup> Between the European District and the Custom-free District is the Chinese Trading District, Dabaodao. It was located at the Northwestern part of the Qingdao Mountain and directly connected to the Chinese trestle bridge.<sup>33</sup> In the early years, the Chinese and Europeans worked and lived together, and most buildings in this district were two-floor structures with wooden galleries and staircases on the courtyard side. The building regulations at the time already had some requirements about the density and the minimum size of a room. Until 1914, only part of the expansion of the harbor district and the addition of European and Chinese firms had been completed.<sup>34</sup>

Two to five kilometers away from the European District are two residential districts for Chinese who worked at harbors and railways; Taidongzhen

31 Warner, Torsten. *Deutsche Architektur in China : Architekturtransfer = German Architecture in China : Architectural Transfer*. Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, c1994. 202.

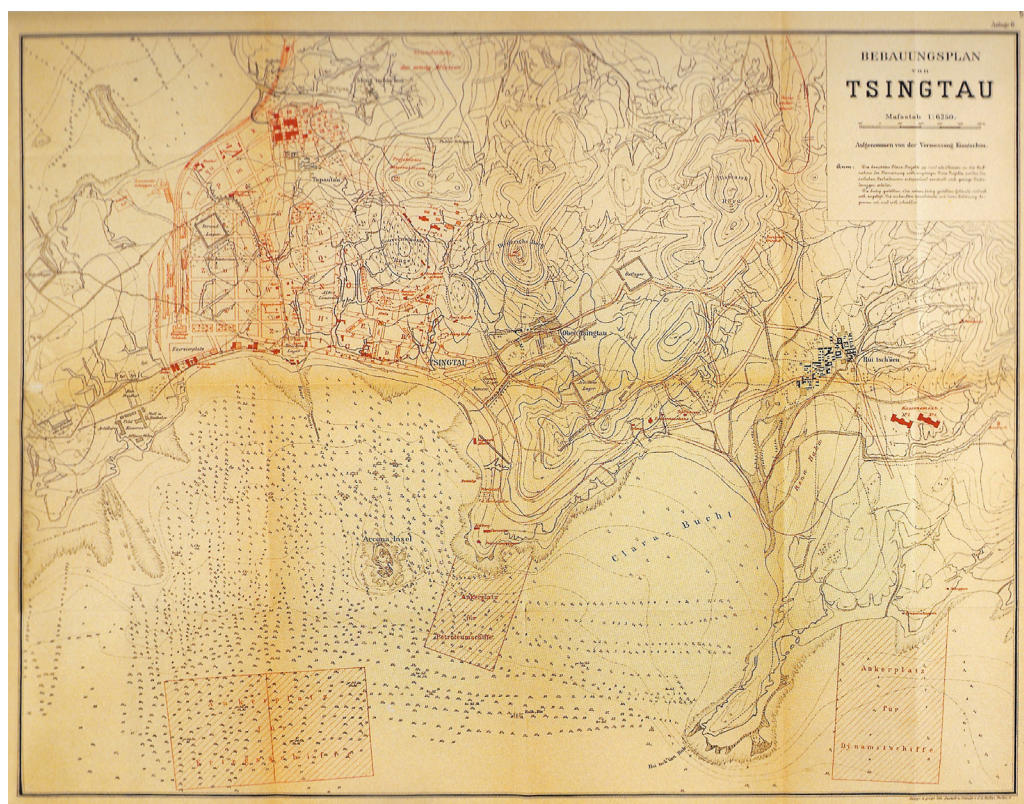
32 From 1842 onwards the first foreign settlements were founded by Britain. Foreigners were allowed to buy land only in specified areas which were next to existing Chinese harbor towns. Similarly in Beijing foreigners were allowed to live only in the diplomatic district. Missionaries were the only exception.

33 Warner, Torsten. *Deutsche Architektur in China : Architekturtransfer = German Architecture in China : Architectural Transfer*. Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, c1994. 203.

34 Cao, Sheng. “德占时期青岛城市建设研究 Study on the Urban Construction of Qingdao during the Period Occupied by Germany.” Thesis, Shandong Normal University, n.d. 13-19.



Figure 12. Revised Urban Planning in 1899. Source: Qingdao Municipal Archives.



(Taitungchen) and Taixizhen (Taihsichen). (Figure 12) Before occupying these two residential areas, Chinese workers came from different cities in Shandong province and often lived under inferior conditions. The Taidongzhen was established in 1899, and the next year Taixizhen finished construction.<sup>35</sup> The Chinese District was formed by blocks that were fifty meters long and twenty-five meters wide.<sup>36</sup> The roads inside the block were ten meters wide.<sup>37</sup> All buildings inside this district are traditional one-story Chinese houses with a courtyard. These buildings followed the established hygiene regulations, which dictated things such as the density and size of buildings. Most cities in the Northern part of China had only very narrow alleys full of nooks and crannies, so in comparison, these two residential districts had much wider alleys. Usually, the direction of the streets under traditional Chinese standards was north-south or east-west, but the streets inside the Chinese District at Qingdao are rotated forty-five degrees to follow the direction of the prevailing wind, to prevent

35 Yuan, Rongsou. Jiao'ao Zhi /. Taibei : Wen hai chu ban she, 1969. 28-68.

36 Ma, Ke. “德占时期以来青岛城市规划思想演变研究 (1897-1949) Study on Tsingtao Urban Planning Ideology Since the Period Occupied by Germany (1897-1949).” Thesis, Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology, 200906. 15-18.

37 Ibid

having humid north facades.<sup>38</sup> Here the urban development combined traditional Chinese architecture with a one-story courtyard and European-style wide streets. The first fulfilled the needs of the traditional lifestyle, and the latter one fits the Germanic hygiene requirements of “light + air = health.”<sup>39</sup>

As the only trade and garrison city in Asia, Qingdao developed continuously to fulfill the modern hygiene standard and became a famous seaside resort. The sewage system disposed of rainwater and sewage to the southern bay and prevented the need for pipes leading to the bay reserved for bathing. Because of these advantages, Jiaozhou Bay became a combination sport and recreation area.

Around the summer of 1903, there were a total of 126 seasonal residents in Qingdao and later around 500 more from other cities to Qingdao, including a significant number of British people.<sup>40</sup> The English edition of the journal *Social Shanghai* regularly reported about the bathing resorts and summer resorts in China, which included a detailed report about Qingdao with a massive amount of photos.

The Chinese Revolution in the autumn of 1911 overturned the rule of the Qing Dynasty and established the Republic of China (ruled by the Nanjing Nationalist Government). Many of the ousted officials brought their families and property to either the colonies at Tianjin and Shanghai or to Hong Kong, Qingdao and Dalian, asking for the protection of foreign embassies so that the Chinese Government could not confiscate their property. Foreign embassies still provided protection is that they doubted the result of the Chinese revolution. By providing protection, both nations could benefit if these once-ousted officials returned to power. Therefore, different foreign countries were trying to accept as many deposed officials as possible. Based on this phenomenon, Wilhelm Schrameier, who had created the land regulations for Qingdao, criticized that

38 Chen, Li. “德租时期青岛建筑研究 The Research of Qingdao Architecture in German Occupation Period.” Dissertation, Tianjin University, 2006. 12, 31-41.

39 Warner, Torsten. *Deutsche Architektur in China : Architekturtransfer = German Architecture in China : Architectural Transfer*. Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, c1994. 202.

40 Ibid

“ In 1912, on the whim of a moment, the German Administration of Kiaochow forfeited the advantages it possessed and gave up the European quarter in Tsingtao.”<sup>41</sup> This criticism was based on the previous revolutions that had happened in China. Numerous Chinese families asked for protection in the foreign concessions during previous revolutions, which caused land prices to boom and drove away foreigners. For instance, there were only around two percent of foreign populations in the colonies at Shanghai in 1910.<sup>42</sup>

The increasing number of Chinese families encouraged the building trades in Qingdao. From 1907 to 1911, only 39 properties belonged to Chinese, but by 1912, 80 properties belonged to Chinese, and the number of Chinese who got permits kept increasing in the following years.<sup>43</sup> However, the new buildings needed to follow the regulations, such as the exterior need to be European style, and the density should be no more than 40 percent.<sup>44</sup> The distance between buildings and the boundary also had a particular requirement. It was hard for Chinese, who were used to traditional Chinese architecture, to live in a pure European building. Thus, several buildings still have a one-story courtyard. Richard Wilhelm describes how things had changed for Prince Gong (Kung), the elder brother of the last Emperor, as follows: “He had moved out of his magnificent palace on the foot of the Coal Hill, one of the most famous cultural monuments of ancient times. He had abandoned his summer residence in the magnificent temple Tsiä T'ai Si (Jietai SI, the author) in the western hills near Peking. He had torn himself away from most of his treasures and beloved books. He had moved into the lightly built summer villa of a German captain in which he had only the most meager accommodation for himself and his family. I remember the touching joy with which he showed me his new goldfish pond and his attempts to turn the pathetic little garden into a park.”<sup>45</sup>

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41 Schrameier, Wilhelm, *Aus Kiautschous Verwaltung*, Jena 1914, 32.

42 Warner, Torsten. *Deutsche Architektur in China : Architekturtransfer = German Architecture in China : Architectural Transfer*. Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, c1994. 201.

43 Ibid

44 Yang, Li. “近代青岛土地法制研究（1897年-1937年） Study on the Land Legal System in Modern Tsingtao (1897-1937).” Thesis, Qingdao University, 20180513. 11-18.

45 Wilhelm, Richard, loc cit. 188.



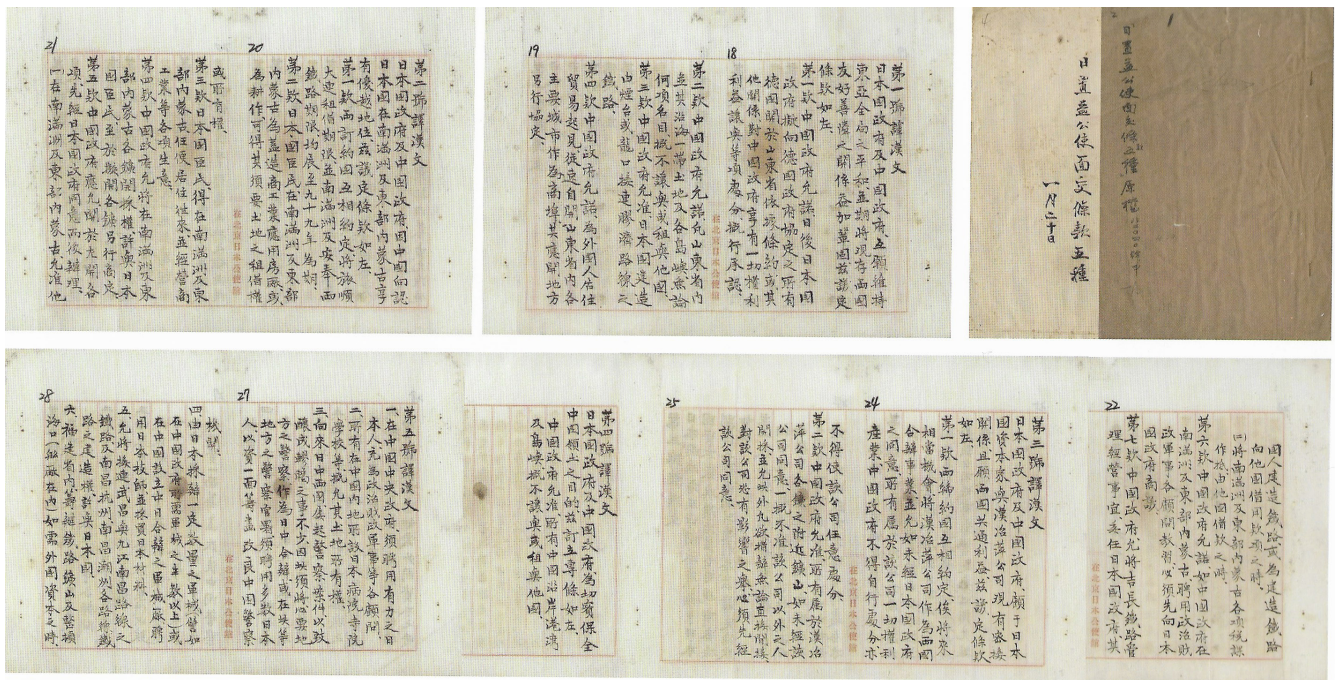


Figure 13. Twenty-One Demands after World War I. Source: Qingdao Municipal Archives.

### 2.3 Qingdao under Other Governments' Rule

After Germany's occupation, Qingdao underwent the alternating rule of the Japanese, Beiyang, and the Nationalists in the following years. Though the Qingdao area was occupied by different governments, the urban planning concepts and schemas created by the Germans were still used for urban development. At the same time, the urban planning style and tendentious urbanity gradually formed and solidified at this stage. In addition, due to the rapid development of urban construction during this period, the scale of the city expanded step by step.

The first stage after the German colonial period is the First time of Japanese rule. From 1914 to 1922, the Japanese invaded Qingdao by using the excuse of World War I. (Figure 13) Since the Meiji Restoration, Japan had become one of the emerging imperialisms in the world. The limitation of its land area led to the lack of domestic resources, which prompted the Japanese government to implement its strategy of aggression against China and the hegemony of the world. By waging aggressive wars against China and its neighboring countries, Japan could get more resources for further development of its metropolitan

Figure 14. The Comparison between development during German colonial period and Japan colonial period. The green line represent the urban area during German colonial period, and the red represent what Japanese did for the urban development. Source: The Stories about Qingdao, 2019.



territory. During the occupation of Qingdao, Japan had already acquired colonies such as North Korea and Taiwan.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, the occupation of Qingdao for military purposes was not a priority for the Japanese government. The main ambition for the occupation was to gain natural resources and economic plunder in this period. Therefore, rather than deny the urban plan and architectural style during the German colonial period, the Japanese colonial authorities further developed the city based on the existing German urban planning schema. Most of the urban construction during this period focused on the restoration of buildings damaged by war and the construction of industrial districts. Compared to the city size during the German colonial period, it increased almost three times its original size.<sup>47</sup> (Figure 14) The nature of the city also changed from a port city mainly based on commerce and trade during the German colonial period to a port city with a light textile industry as its main feature.

46 Ma, Ke. “德占时期以来青岛城市规划思想演变研究（1897-1949） Study on Tsingtao Urban Planning Ideology Since the Period Occupied by Germany (1897-1949).” Thesis, Xi’an University of Architecture and Technology, 200906. 18.

47 Yang, Li. “近代青岛土地法制研究（1897年-1937年） Study on the Land Legal System in Modern Tsingtao (1897-1937).” Thesis, Qingdao University, 20180513. 18-20.

On December 10, 1922, Qingdao had its sovereignty withdrawn, and the Beiyang government began to take over Qingdao. The title of the city changed from Japanese "Jiao'ao leased land" ( 胶 澳 租 借 地 ) to "Jiao'ao commercial port." ( 胶 澳 商 埠 ) However, due to the incompetence of the ruler, the Japanese government still has the right to control the finances of the city, which made this takeover useless.

In 1922, President Li Yuanhong approved the implementation of the "Interim Regulations of the Jiao'ao Commercial Port" ( 《胶澳商埠暂行章程》 ) and the "Qingdao Interim Regulations," ( 《青岛市暂行条例草案》 ) which determined the urban development boundary of Qingdao during this period. At the same time, a design agency in Qingdao, Jiao'ao Engineering Bureau, was also established.<sup>48</sup>

During this period, in order to strengthen the control of Qingdao's finances, the Japanese built a large number of commodity trading departments. This decision led the city to devolve into a disorderly condition, and construction in the city entered a period of stagnation.

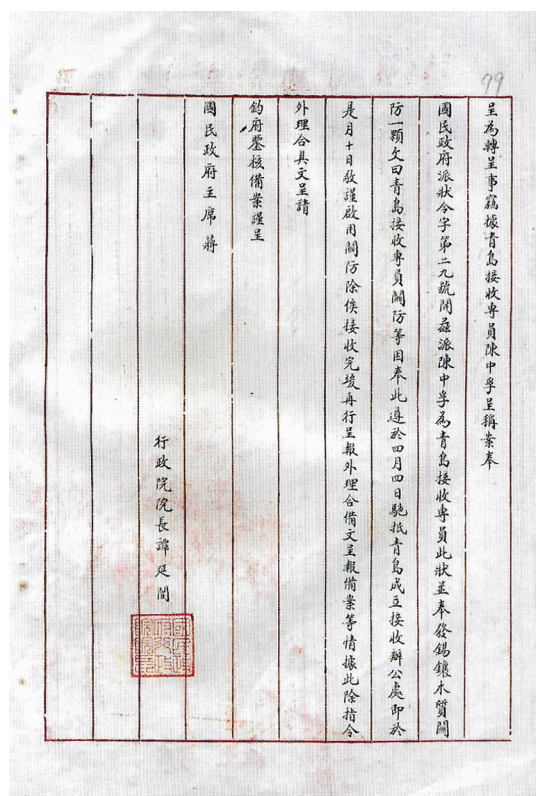
During the rule of the Beiyang government the development of the city was in a transitional stage. Therefore, the construction of the city was focused only on the restoration of damaged facilities after the war. These restorations were mainly in the charge of the Engineering Department of the Jiao Ao Commercial Port Supervision Office.

The third round of political shifts in Qingdao occurred in 1929 when the Nanjing Nationalist Government took over control. (Figure 15) In the 1930s, a lot of European and American cities were still under the severe influence of World War II. The application and development of some urban planning theories during the large-scale reconstruction of these cities prompted a leap in urban planning theories. At the same time, China was also experiencing the civil

48 Ma, Ke. “德占时期以来青岛城市规划思想演变研究（1897-1949）” Study on Tsingtao Urban Planning Ideology Since the Period Occupied by Germany (1897-1949).” Thesis, Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology, 200906. 18-19.



Figure 15. The Nanjing Nationalist government received Qingdao and started customs in April 15, 1929. Source: Qingdao Municipal Archives.



war, and the social situation was extremely unstable. However, with the rise of capitalism in China, various upper classes and wealthy people sought to further their own forces while seeking refugees from the war. Qingdao, in this period, was once again valued for its unique geographical location. With convenient transportation on both land and sea and a particular scale of urban development, Qingdao naturally became the ideal place pursued by the upper class. As a result, many financial institutions chose Qingdao for investment, and a large number of cultural and public facilities were also built to serve the upper class.<sup>49</sup>

During the same period, a number of Chinese students who studied abroad graduated and came back to China. Due to their return, there were a large number of western urban planning theories and ideas brought to China. These theories had a profound impact on China's urban planning and construction in the later period. With this context, Qingdao also formulated the “Qingdao Urban Implementation Plan” (《青岛市施行都市计划案》) and the “Greater

<sup>49</sup> Song, Lianwei. Qingdao Cheng Shi Lao Jian Zhu. Qingdao Shi, Shandong: Qingdao chu ban she, 2008. 20.

Qingdao Development Plan”(《大青岛市发展计划》) during this period.<sup>50</sup>

In January 1935, Shen Honglie, then mayor of Qingdao at the time, launched the "Qingdao Urban Implementation Plan (Preliminary Draft)." (《青岛市施行都市计划案(初稿)》) Its primary contents include the following aspects:

1. According to different functions, the cities will be separated into different zones. First, the city is divided into four major areas by using a 2km wide natural green belt. Then, within each major area, the area is divided into five major zones such as residential, commercial, industrial, mixed, and green space. Based on functions in each zone, these zones can work more efficiently.
2. The road traffic structure in urban areas had significant adjustments and had a new scenario for road grading. There are three types of roads based on the new scenario of road grading, which is: expressways (now today's highways), primary roads, and access roads. Besides, the Jiaoji Railway was extended to Daokou Town, and two new railways were newly built on sharing transportation pressure. On the other hand, in terms of maritime transportation, the land, and water transportation will be strengthened through the expansion of ports and the addition of new ferry lines. During this period, Qingdao's main port Dagang port was expanded, and some small ports were also expanded at the same time with two new terminals added.
3. Move the center of the business district north to Taidongzhen and turn the industrial land located at the west side of Taidongzhen into commercial land. At the same time, extend the area that used to be the commercial center during the German occupation south of Dagang port to the area around the current Tianjin Road and Zhongshan Road.
4. Under the consideration of the increase in population size, a large number of new residential areas have been built in the city so that it can make the proportion of construction land account for 43% of the total land area for urban construction.
5. When planning the industrial district, the transportation advantages of the Jiaoji Railway were fully considered, which led urban industrial land was arranged along the Jiaoji Railway.
6. Through the formulation of relevant standards and regulations, the proportion of green land in cities is guaranteed. In addition, by having new parks and beaches, the urban environment got a specific improvement. Except for the preservation of the original forest during this period, many parks and baths were also built for the city artistry.

50 Yang, Li. “近代青岛土地法制研究(1897年-1937年) Study on the Land Legal System in Modern Tsingtao (1897-1937).” Thesis, Qingdao University, 20180513. 20-31.

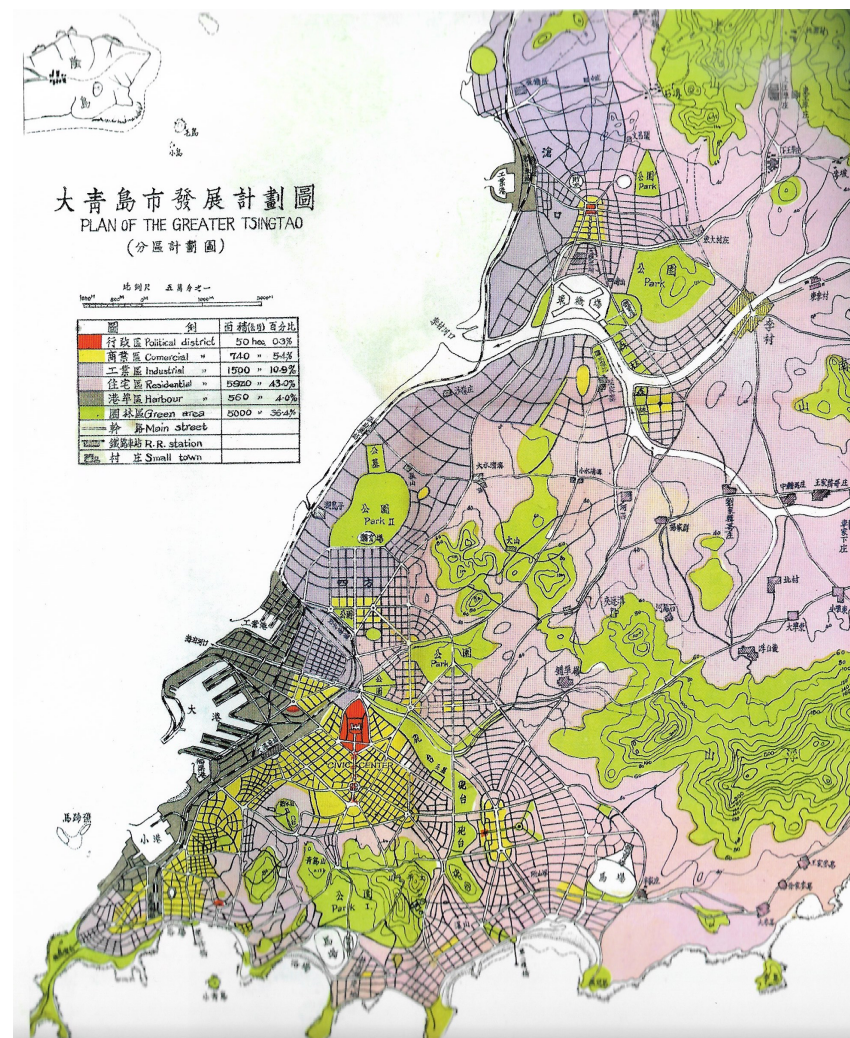


Figure 16. (Plan of) Greater Qingdao Development Plan. Source: Qingdao Municipal Archives.

Following the "Qingdao Urban Implementation Plan (Preliminary Draft)," the Qingdao Public Works Bureau also launched the "Greater Qingdao Development Plan," which is another bold plan for the urban area of Qingdao. (Figure 16) The scheme uses an entirely geometric composition and symmetrical layout, which reflects the aggressive pursuit and worship of power. The entire urban planning arranges the city's administrative area at the geometric center of Qingdao. Moreover, the road network takes a star-shaped radial layout with the administrative center as the core, forming the primary road network structure of the city.

Even though the entire plan could not be implemented because of the outbreak of the aggression against China, the urban planning theories and techniques



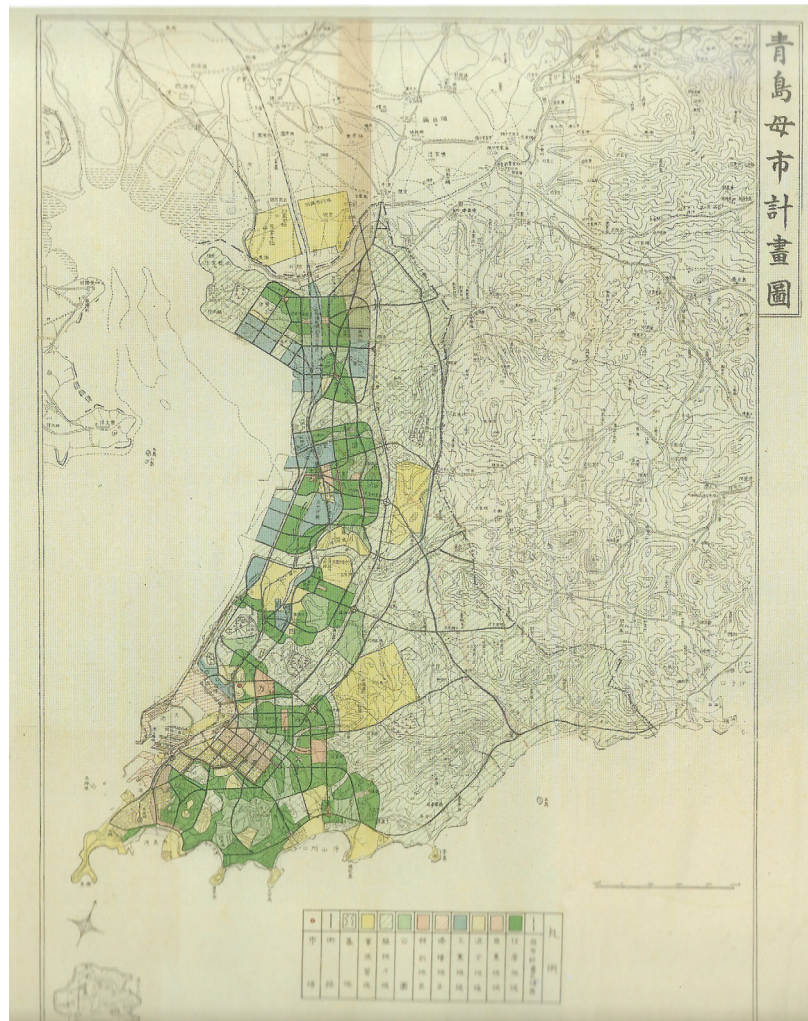


Figure 17. Qingdao Special City's Home City Plan.  
Source: Qingdao Municipal Archives.

adopted in this plan had an impact on Qingdao's future urban development and construction.

During the administration of the Nanjing Nationalist government, Qingdao's development changed significantly, and the planning and construction of the city developed rapidly. Both the formulation of the "Qingdao Urban Implementation Plan" and the "Greater Qingdao Development Plan" redefined the functions within the city, and made Qingdao's urban construction lean towards a more comprehensive pattern of industry, commerce, finance, culture, ports, and tourism.

In the later stages, due to the outbreak of the War of Resistance against Japanese

Aggression and the civil war in China, Qingdao's urban construction was greatly affected. Under such circumstances, the urban development was slow, and almost all urban construction was left stagnant.

The period from 1937 to 1945 was the second time the Japanese ruled Qingdao. It is also the period of the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression. The Japanese also had the ambition to occupy Qingdao for a long time, so the ruling authorities intended to build Qingdao into its most important military base and economic aggression center in North China during their seven years of ruling. In 1939, the East Asia Development Board Urban Planning Office prepared two documents, the "Outline of Qingdao Special City's Local Plan" (《青岛特别市地方计划设定纲要》) and the "Outline of Qingdao Special City's Home City Plan" (《青岛特别市母市计划设定纲要》).<sup>51</sup> (Figure 17) Among them, the emphasis is to construct Qingdao as a city of politics, harbor, industry, and tourism. Besides, the plan presupposed the urban area of Qingdao with 1.8 million population and has a proportion of 6000 square kilometers.<sup>52</sup> It is the first time that the Qingdao urban area had been explicitly planned as a narrow linear urban area. The purpose was to unify the Jiaozhou Bay coastline, which was initially divided by the administration under the jurisdiction of the same administrative region. At the same time, the plan divided the urban area into six groups so that it changed the city's original single-center planning layout. The urban form of Qingdao has changed since then.

Urban construction during this period was mainly focused on the expansion of ports, the construction of new harbors, and the construction of industrial districts due to military and colonial plundering purposes. Parks and green spaces also became an essential part of urban construction during this period. By doing so, the environmental quality of the city was dramatically improved.

After the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression, China immediately

51 Yang, Li. “近代青岛土地法制研究（1897年-1937年）Study on the Land Legal System in Modern Tsingtao (1897-1937).” Thesis, Qingdao University, 20180513. 20-31.

52 Han, Qiannan. “青岛近代建筑规则演变过程研究（1897-1937）Study on the Evolution Process of Qingdao Modern Building Rules (1897-1937).” Thesis, Qingdao University of Technology, 201812. 37-60.

got into the War of Liberation from 1945 to 1949. As one of the cities with important military-strategic significance that the Nationalist government attempted to adhere to for a long time, Qingdao at this time was essentially in the stage of military defense, harbor construction, and facilities improvement.<sup>53</sup> Due to the harsh rule of Qingdao by the Nationalist government, Qingdao's urban planning during this period was stranded. There were few useful urban activities in the city and no long-term development plan for the city. The quality of the entire city was in a downward trend during this period.

When the new China was first established, the city was still under an unstable and chaotic situation. Until the initial stage of reform and opening up, the land policy in new China began to change. The housing system began to reform, and a large number of foreign-funded enterprises (mainly manufacturing industries) entered Qingdao to drive Qingdao's economic development. In 1981, Qingdao was identified by the State Council as one of the national economic centers, and in 1984, it was identified as one of the 14 open coastal cities in the "Minutes of Forums on Some Coastal Cities" (《沿海部分城市座谈会纪要》).<sup>54</sup> However, compared with other cities, a series of policies and measures from the central to the local government has not caused significant changes in Qingdao's development.

Furthermore, the city's development seems to have reached its limit. After the urban population increased to 888,000 in 1960, Qingdao has gone through a period of rapid population growth since its establishment.<sup>55</sup> The non-agricultural population of Qingdao was 1.162 million in 1985, which can be a reflection of natural population growth after 1960.<sup>56</sup> At this time, Qingdao's economic growth rate was even lower than the average growth rate of Shandong Province. Although there are some artificial restrictions such as the household registration system, the primary urban space form that has been developed for many years is the main reason that blocks the city's expansion. Because of this, Qingdao has

53 Chen, Li. “德租时期青岛建筑研究 The Research of Qingdao Architecture in German Occupation Period.” Dissertation, Tianjin University, 2006. 52-58.

54 Ibid

55 Han, Hao. “青岛地区近代建筑调查与保护 Investigation on the Early Modern Buildings in Qingdao and Protection.” Thesis, Yunnan University, 2015. 16-17.

56 Ibid

always been unable to develop fully.

As a terminus of the railway line, Qingdao connects to the external economy mainly by the Jiaoji Railway. This initial way of economic development, which conforms to the layout of a strip city, can meet the requirements of urban development over a long time. However, it can be found in the process of urban development that a problem for strip cities is that when the city scale reaches a certain level, it will bring some difficulties in the operation of the internal transportation system. Therefore, it is necessary to seek a breakthrough in this natural type of economic development. After the reform and opening up, this contradiction has become more apparent. The problems of insufficient land in the city and the problems of “Nansu Beigong”<sup>57</sup> (南宿北工) severely restricted the development of Qingdao.<sup>58</sup> In order to solve the contradiction of slow urban development, the construction of the Huangdao Economic and Technological Development District began in 1984. However, due to the natural barrier of Jiaozhou Bay, the land distance between Qingdao's old urban area and Huangdao New District was about 120 kilometers.<sup>59</sup> Under the severe obstacles of traffic conditions, the decision to develop Huangdao actually hindered the development of Qingdao. There are no conditions for convenient transportation links such as the Binhai Bridge and the undersea tunnel for original urban area and the new district. The spatial distance still restricts the threshold for urban development. The Huangdao New District cannot be an organic component of Qingdao's urban area. Due to the restrictions on land use and transportation during this period, policy guidance did not change the spatial pattern of Qingdao. There was no noticeable change in the situation of slow development until 1992 when Shandong Province identified Qingdao as a leader in opening up to the outside world, but no significant changes occurred at this stage. Since 1993, the completion of a large number of infrastructures has accelerated the development of the east part of the city.<sup>60</sup> Driven by policies such as the

57 Workers living in the south part of the city and work in the north part of the city, which caused a massive traffic jam.

58 Xu, Lei. “青岛德占时期建筑群体的保护与再生研究 Study on Preservation and Rehabilitation of the Architectural Complex in Qingdao During the Period Occupied by Germany.” Thesis, Qingdao Technological University, 201106. 36-38.

59 Han, Hao. “青岛地区近代建筑调查与保护 Investigation on the Early Modern Buildings in Qingdao and Protection.” Thesis, Yunnan University, 201505. 16-17.

60 Ibid

development strategy of eastern Qingdao, the urban form is expanding eastward in a phase of rapid development.<sup>61</sup>

In 2001, influenced by China's accession to the World Trade Organization, in addition to the continued implementation of the expansion of domestic demand and the success of the Olympic bid, Qingdao made industrial adjustments. The inner space of the city continues to be filled and integrated, the outer space continues to expand, and urban construction has entered a stage of rapid development.

Throughout the recent half-century development and formation of Qingdao, the establishment of the city was caused by external influences and the fission of emergencies. This process of occupation by foreign powers makes this city fundamentally different from other regions with a long history of Chinese tradition. Therefore, the history of Qingdao city is consistent with the development process of modern Chinese society, and they share a chaotic feature. This distortion and struggle is the product of the collision of different societies and cultures, and it is also a rare city in China with strong colonial characteristics of occupation and plunder.

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61 Xu, Lei. “青岛德占时期建筑群体的保护与再生研究 Study on Preservation and Rehabilitation of the Architectural Complex in Qingdao During the Period Occupied by Germany.” Thesis, Qingdao Technological University, 201106. 36-38.



### 03 DEVELOPMENT OF COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE IN QINGDAO

Figure 18. Qing Dynasty  
General Administrative  
Building in 1898.. Source:  
The Stories about Qingdao,  
2019.



This chapter studies the characteristics of traditional Chinese architecture in Qingdao and German architecture in Germany. The study focus on the development of urban planning and the German colonial architecture in Qingdao, particularly on the establishment of German colonial architecture from traditional Chinese architecture and German architecture. By understanding the transformation of German colonial architecture in Qingdao, it is able to explore the research questions of how the local community has responded to the German colonial buildings and why local citizens continue to protect and use the same style of structure.

#### 3.1 Architectural Characteristics in Qingdao before the German Colonial Period

Before the German invasion of Qingdao, the city had already reached a relatively high level of social development. However, compared with the larger cities in China at the time, Qingdao's population size and economic development still needed further improvement. In terms of architecture, Qingdao does not have large scale official buildings. The largest official building was the Qing Dynasty General Administrative Building , which had barracks on one side.

Figure 19. Tianhou Palace in 1905. Source: Dialogue with Architecture: Looking into the Museum of the Former German Governor's House in Qingdao.



(Figure 18) Furthermore, the Tianhou Palace was the tallest building complex at that time at around two stories high. (Figure 19) The regions of Jiaozhou and Jimo have large-scale cities and buildings because of their long history. In terms of traditional buildings, the buildings in Qingdao are more straightforward than most of them in North China, while retaining some similarity. However, most of the traditional buildings built in Qingdao before 1898 no longer exist; only some of them remain. For example, part of the outer wall of Qingdao Village, which was retained in Changzhou Road Prison, can offer people a glimpse of the old Qingdao buildings.

### 3.1.1 Traditional Chinese Architecture in Qingdao

The oldest building in Qingdao now is the Jade Emperor Temple built during the Yuan Dynasty, the Tianhou Palace, which was the tallest building of that time, the Haiyun Temple, the general administrative building of the Qing Dynasty, and the "Nine Palaces, Eight Daoist Temples, and Seventy-two Nunneries" (“九宫八观七十二庵”) in Laoshan , of which still have seventeen

constructions remain.<sup>62</sup> All these buildings are traditional Chinese buildings remaining from before the German invasion of Qingdao. Before becoming a German colony, few commercial existed in Qingdao, and they were not large constructions. Although there were relatively prosperous commercial streets, there was still a substantial gap between them and other metropolises in China. There were few official residences in Qingdao, and the vernacular buildings were also traditional Chinese courtyard houses with a simple layout. At that time, most Qingdao residents worked as farmers and earned meager wages. Therefore, their dwellings were very primitive, and the materials for the dwellings were mostly collected by themselves.

The vernacular buildings in Qingdao are usually traditional Chinese courtyards, such as Sanheyuan and Siheyuan. These buildings usually have a herringbone-shaped roof and a gate decorated with iron rings. The building itself is primarily constructed from stone. The buildings of the upper-class population always had two courtyards, one in front and one at the back. The outer door of the courtyard was usually painted with decorative patterns, and a gatehouse was built above the door. Usually, at the corners of the gatehouse have beautiful decorative cornices. After entering the courtyard complex, the first space is the front yard. The front yard of the complex was relatively large and was the main area for daily activities. The backyard was smaller and usually used for planting flowers or trees and raising livestock. In addition, the backyard separated the main building from the street. The outer wall of the yard was usually built from stone or tamped with soil and then covered in a layer of mud or lime. The main building was situated on the north side of the property and faced the south,<sup>63</sup> which was the primary reception area for receiving guests. Due to its function and location, it is often referred to as an "inverted hall" or "inverted seat" since it was always located on the south side of the complex.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, some

upper-class people would build a small house next to the main entrance for

62 Wu, Tao. “以青岛德国警察署旧址为例青岛殖民时期建筑研究 Former Police Headquarter--The Research of Old Qingdao Buildings in Colonial Period.” Thesis, Qingdao Technological University, 201306. 13-18.

63 In Chinese, it is called “坐北朝南.” The principle was initially for the whole courtyard to have more sunlight and, at the same time, prevent the wind from the north. In modern days, the principle is more for the main bedroom and living room in an apartment.

64 Wu, Tao. “以青岛德国警察署旧址为例青岛殖民时期建筑研究 Former Police Headquarter--The Research of Old Qingdao Buildings in Colonial Period.” Thesis, Qingdao Technological University, 201306. 13-18.



Figure 20. Tianhou Palace during German colonial period. Source: Qingdao Municipal Archives.



their servants to live in. In addition to providing accommodation, this house could also serve as a guard house, so it is often called an "auricle house," which means that it monitors the neighborhood situation like an ear.

On the other hand, the wing rooms are generally located on both sides of the main house. Because of the lack of light, the wing rooms are only used for storage or raising livestock. However, for some lower class people, they have no choice but to live in the wing rooms under poor conditions. Since one side of the wing room is sloped and looks like a hat, it is commonly called the "Taoist hat."<sup>65</sup> Within the complex, except for these main buildings, there are kitchens, storage rooms, barn, and some other accessory spaces, all of which constitute a traditional Chinese courtyard house in Qingdao.

<sup>65</sup> Ji, Daoming. "青岛德租时期历史建筑内部要素修复与再利用研究 Study on Rehabilitation and Reuse of the Historic Building Interior in Qingdao during the Period Occupied by Germany." Thesis, Qingdao Technological University, 201906. 31.



Figure 21. Current entrance of Tianhou Palace.

Two typical traditional buildings profoundly influenced German colonial architecture later on. One is Tianhou Palace, which still exists today near the Changzhou Road Prison Complex. Another one is the Qing Dynasty General Administrative Building that related to the earliest buildings, which built by German when they first arrived Qingdao.

The Tianhou Palace was built in 1467 during the Ming Dynasty. (Figure 20) It has been on the current Taiping Road in Qingdao for over 500 years. As the tallest building ever built in Qingdao before the German invasion, it is also the earliest religious architecture that still exists today in Qingdao. The pattern of the Tianhou Palace is a traditional Chinese courtyard house, Siheyuan that with a central axis as the focus of the overall layout. The Tianhou Palace was expanded seven times during the Ming Dynasty, Qing Dynasty, and the





Figure 22. Current front yard of Tianhou Palace.

Nationalists.<sup>66</sup> After these expansions, the building scale now has around 4,000 square meters.<sup>67</sup> Within the Tianhou Palace complex, there are sixteen palaces and more than eighty buildings with other functions. The main buildings are the main hall, side hall, front and back wing rooms, theater building, campanile, and drum tower. The main entrance is located on the south side of the complex. (Figure 21) After entering the gate, there is the front yard, which is located in front of the theater. (Figure 22) On both sides of the theater are the campanile and the drum tower, and their roof is a double-glazed overhanging eaves roof. The main hall of the backyard, which is the Tianhou Hall, is a single-eave flush gable roof building. On the east and west sides of the Tianhou Hall, there are side halls and wing rooms. The buildings other than the theater have characteristics of clean-mudded walls with small gray tiles, and Suzhou-style painted decorations and carved beams. Inside the complex are two stone monuments detailing the renovation of the Tianhou Temple in 1865 during the Qing Dynasty and the other one in 1874 during the same period.

66 Wu, Tao. “以青岛德国警察署旧址为例青岛殖民时期建筑研究 Former Police Headquarter--The Research of Old Qingdao Buildings in Colonial Period.” Thesis, Qingdao Technological University, 201306. 13-18.

67 Ibid

There is a habit for the local fishermen to pray for their smooth sailing before going out to the sea in the Tianhou Temple. Therefore, the Tianhou Temple has had good preservation by the local people because of its religious influences. After the German occupation of Qingdao in 1897, the location of the Tianhou Palace fell within the European district. When the Germans did the urban planning for Qingdao, they had considered demolishing the Tianhou Palace, but they were firmly opposed by the local people in Qingdao.<sup>68</sup> Under the considerable pressure from the local people, the German government promised to move the Tianhou Palace to Dabaodao instead of demolishing it directly. However, before the plan was implemented, the Japanese came and occupied Qingdao. Because of the exchange of ruling powers, there are no other plans for moving the Tianhou Palace afterward. Until the founding of the People's Republic of China, some parts of the Tianhou Palace complex were demolished. The campanile, drum tower, and some idols of Gods were dismantled, and the glazed tiles on the double-layer cornices were also replaced with gray tiles. Currently, only the main hall, side hall, theater, and wing rooms on the east and west side have not been transformed.

In June 1891, the general commander of Dengzhou came and managed in Qingdao. In the following year, the Qing Dynasty General Administrative Building, which is the first administrative building in Qingdao, finished construction.<sup>69</sup> Due to the military importance of Qingdao at that time, the Qing Dynasty General Administrative Building was the largest in the Jiaozhou Bay area at that time. In 1898, the Qing government was forced to sign the Kiaochow Concession Treaty (《胶州租界条约》). Before the official Governor's Hall was built in 1906, the Qing Dynasty General Administrative Building was a place where German government offices were located. In front of the Administrative Building, there are two more docks built following the request of the general commander of Dengzhou to transport military supplies and facilitate ships to stop by at the port.

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68 Binjiu, Yuan. *Qingdao Lao Jian Zhu Zhi lu* = A Tour of Historic Buildings in Qingdao. Qingdao, Shandong: Zhongguo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2016. 301-307.

69 Warner, Torsten. *Deutsche Architektur in China : Architekturtransfer = German Architecture in China : Architectural Transfer*. Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, c1994. 197.



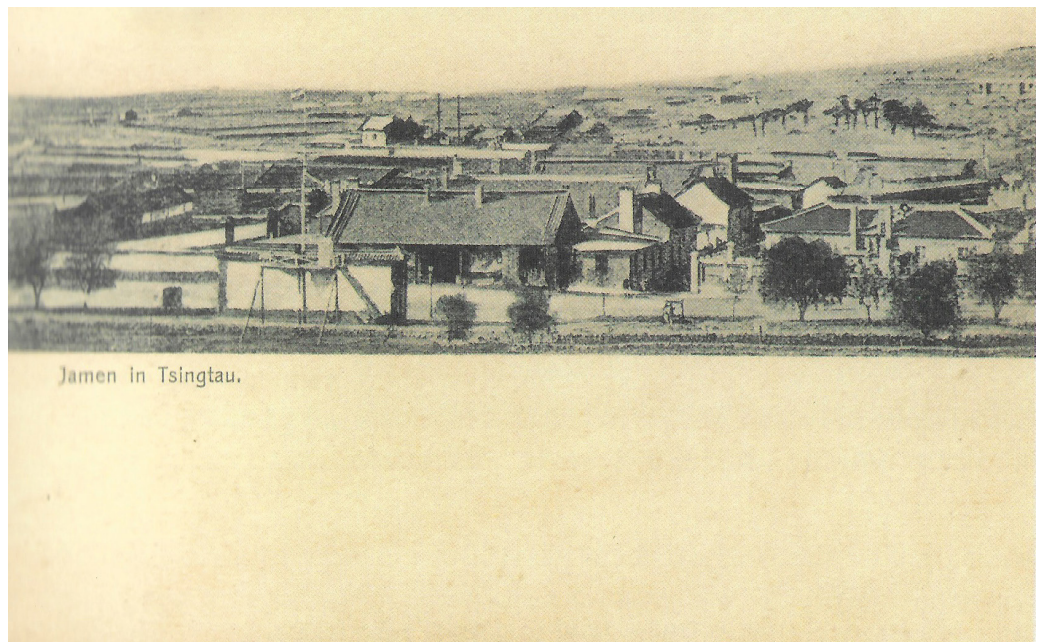


Figure 23. The Qing Dynasty General Administrative Building Complex. Source: Tsingtau auf der alte Ansichtskarte

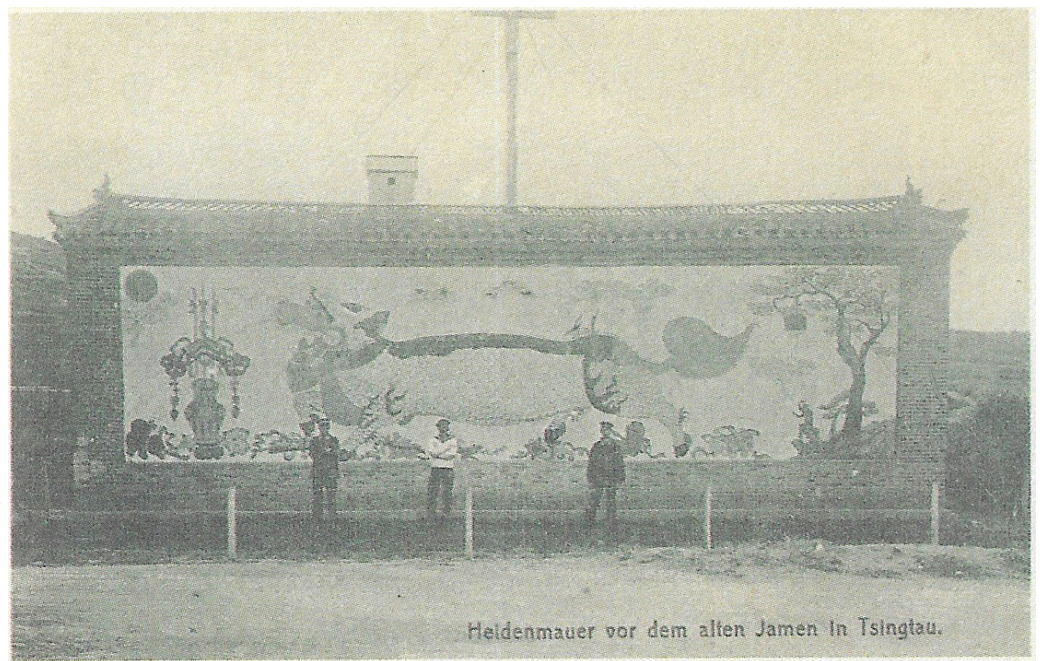


Figure 24. The back wall in front of the outer gate with monster “Tan” drawing. Source: Tsingtau auf der alte Ansichtskarte

The layout of the Qing Dynasty General Administrative Building is a symmetrical structure in the central axis. (Figure 23) The main courtyard is divided into three parts from front to back, and with several inter-courts on each side. It is a typical northern traditional Chinese building. As the main building locating on the north and facing to the south, there is a back wall about 15



Figure 25. Current Qingdao Hall of People.



meters long in front of the outer Gate.<sup>70</sup> (Figure 24) There is a wooden flagpole about 20 meters high hanging the dragon flag of the Qing Dynasty, which is the symbol of the highest-level government office in the Qing Dynasty. There are a total of ten main halls and back halls and six wing rooms. The buildings within the complex are using the girder-brick structure. The primary material of the courtyard wall is granite, and plain bricks surround the wall.

On the other hand, the roof is in the form of single-layer eaves, and the gray tube tiles are laid on it. After the Germans invaded Qingdao, Germany changed the Qing Dynasty General Administrative Building to a temporary headquarters and became the office of the German Governor in the Jiao Ao area. Later, when Japan occupied Qingdao, the Qing Dynasty General Administrative Building was changed into a temporary naval barracks, and finally became a residential building later on. Until the People's Republic of China got over the control, the Qing Dynasty General Administrative Building was used as the dormitory of

<sup>70</sup> Wu, Tao. “以青岛德国警察署旧址为例青岛殖民时期建筑研究 Former Police Headquarter--The Research of Old Qingdao Buildings in Colonial Period.” Thesis, Qingdao Technological University, 201306. 13-18.



Qingdao Second Middle School until it was demolished in May 1959.<sup>71</sup> In May 1960, the Qingdao Hall of People was built on the site and became a place for local people to participate in political events and performances. (Figure 25) The original building no longer exists, but the new building is still supporting local people in their daily life.

### 3.2 Influence of German Architecture

Along with the German invasion, the German architectural style also came to China to influence the development of architecture in Qingdao. The urban planning and architecture of Qingdao are clear evidence of the impact of European design. When redesigning the old Qingdao city, the planners fully integrated the characteristics of traditional Chinese architecture during the construction. Thus, the German architecture in Qingdao is a new architectural form different from the pure Chinese and pure European architecture. It is a collision but, at the same time, a fusion between Chinese and Western cultures. The integration of the two architectural styles is an embodiment of colonial architecture in Qingdao. These buildings make Qingdao's urban landscape become a unique entity that has both Chinese and Western architectural styles.

There are mainly three types of buildings that German built in Qingdao that highly influenced the later outcome of local architecture, which are public buildings, residential buildings, and industrial buildings.

When the German colonists first came to Qingdao to settle in and took the first step in the urban development and construction of Qingdao, they chose to follow the strategies that they used for European cities. In order to build a comfortable living environment, they also chose the Western-style in the construction of some public buildings. These numerous public buildings display sophisticated design and craftsmanship, and the high-quality of these public buildings makes many of them landmarks in Qingdao even today. The main types of these public buildings are office buildings, military buildings, necessary infrastructure, cultural institutions, educational buildings, medical buildings,

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71 Yoshida, Tad and Yoshida Aki. Editor: Sun, Jiliang, and Niu, BenEditorial board member: Zhou, Xiaofang, Li, Guo. 青岛物语 : The Stories about Qingdao. 世界华语出版社, 2019. 162-171.

and commercial buildings for the German colonists. Today, the Governor's Hall, police station, court, prison, and consulates of various countries still exist as office buildings. The military buildings were the three German barracks in Qingdao. The necessary infrastructures include the railway station, post office, and observatory. In addition, the Qingdao Christian Church, Catholic Church, some schools and hospitals still exist as cultural institution, education buildings or medical buildings. Since the commercial buildings mostly belong to individual people or companies, only has some restaurants, old-fashioned shops, and banks are left in today's Qingdao.

The "Statutes of German Dependence" (《德属之境分为内外两界章程》) divided Qingdao into inner and outer circles. For the inner circle, it was further divided into two districts, which are the European and Chinese areas within the boundary.<sup>72</sup> Therefore, the residential buildings in Qingdao at that time also developed into many types, with enormous differences between each other. The quality of the construction for European residential areas was much higher than that of Chinese areas. At that time, the residences mainly consisted of independent villas inhabited by Europeans, and traditional Chinese houses or early residential buildings inhabited by Chinese. The difference between these dwellings were mainly based on distinctions in living habits and lifestyles. The early residential buildings that still exist around the current Zhongshan Road are an early model of the current residential buildings in Qingdao.

During the process of German invasion of Qingdao, more and more different types of people came and brought things that keep influencing Qingdao. From the soldiers in early time to the appearance of various people and professions such as missionaries, Qingdao's locals have not only affected the lifestyle, but also education and other perspectives. In order to propagate their own ideas, missionaries used knowledge of astronomy, geography, industry, commerce as specific media to spread and influence local people. Based on the context, the emergence of diversity in architecture is an inevitable result. Industrial buildings, in particular, have been influenced by the German architectural style,

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<sup>72</sup> le, Mou. Qing Dao Quan Shu. Qing dao, Shandong: Qing dao chu ban she, 2014.

Figure 26. Speyer Cathedral as Romanesque style example in Germany. The yellow tone of the 19th-century addition contrasts with the reddish tone of the surviving medieval parts behind it. Source: By Shesmax - Own work, CC BY-SA 4.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=82646069>



and most of them are relatively simple and clear.<sup>73</sup> Most of these industrial buildings are far away from urban areas, which minimizes the impact on residential districts, and profoundly reflects the characteristics of human-based design. Therefore, as the representation of the awareness for human care, the design of these industrial building built by German combined the human-based care and practicality to make the industrial building more reasonable.

### 3.2.1 Characteristics of German Architecture

There are three main steps in the development of German national architecture, starting from the identification of German nationalism. The basis of German national architecture is the Romanesque style in the early Middle Ages. (Figure 26) The victory of the French-Prussian war ignited a strong nationalist sentiment, and the rise of Romanesque architecture was mainly due to the rise of German nationalist sentiment.<sup>74</sup> In the early 19th century, Napoleon's invasion destroyed a large number of medieval buildings along

<sup>73</sup> Zhang, Wenhao. “基于青岛城市特色的殖民时期工业遗产保护与再利用研究 Study on the Protection and Reuse of Industrial Heritage in Colonial Period Based on the Characteristics of Qingdao City.” Thesis, Qingdao Technological University, 2018. 38-43.

<sup>74</sup> Lü Chuansheng, and Shengqi Gong. Yu Jian Zhu Dui Hua: Pin Du Qingdao Deguo Zong Du Lou Jiu Zhi Bo Wu Guan = Dialogue with Architecture: Looking into the Museum of the Former German Governor's House in Qingdao. Jinan Shi, Shandong: Shandong you yi chu ban she, 2009. 118-125.

Figure 27. West facade of Speyer Cathedral as neo-Romanesque style example in Germany. Source: Wikimedia Commons contributors.



the Rhine.<sup>75</sup> This destruction sparked a movement to explore the origin and style of national architecture. In the 19th century, German architects explored historic architectural styles on two paths. Scholars following Johann Joachim Winkelmann explored classical art and architecture; another group of scholars studied medieval architecture, especially the Romanesque.<sup>76</sup>

The neo-Romanesque that began to appear in the mid-19th century is a reinterpretation of German traditional Romanesque architecture, also known as the German Romantic Revival. (Figure 27) The direct source of this style is the Romantic movement and the movement to protect and revere ancient buildings.

<sup>75</sup> Lü Chuansheng, and Shengqi Gong. *Yu Jian Zhu Dui Hua: Pin Du Qingdao Deguo Zong Du Lou Jiu Zhi Bo Wu Guan = Dialogue with Architecture: Looking into the Museum of the Former German Governor's House in Qingdao*. Jinan Shi, Shandong: Shandong you yi chu ban she, 2009. 118-125.

<sup>76</sup> Chen, Li. “德租时期青岛建筑研究 The Research of Qingdao Architecture in German Occupation Period.” Dissertation, Tianjin University, 200612. 105-110.



Figure 28. Protestant Church Wilnsdorf as Jugendstil style example in Germany. Source: By Dbawwsnrw - Own work, CC BY 3.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=11692109>



German Emperor Wilhelm II who reigned from 1888 to 1918 strongly advocated the German Romanesque style, and under his leadership, neo-medieval style design became fashionable in Germany.<sup>77</sup> From the end of the 19th century, the design of villas for German nobles found castle-like towers, gables, and half-timbered buildings.<sup>78</sup> This architectural style not only spread rapidly throughout Germany but also influenced modern architecture in Qingdao.

The final phase is the Jugendstil. (Figure 28) After 1895, the German counterpart to the French Art Nouveau gradually emerged. Although it started late and did not last long, it has a high status in the history of world architecture.

<sup>77</sup> Chen, Li. “德租时期青岛建筑研究 The Research of Qingdao Architecture in German Occupation Period.” Dissertation, Tianjin University, 2006. 105-110.

<sup>78</sup> Lü Chuansheng, and Shengqi Gong. *Yu Jian Zhu Dui Hua: Pin Du Qingdao Deguo Zong Du Lou Jiu Zhi Bo Wu Guan = Dialogue with Architecture: Looking into the Museum of the Former German Governor's House in Qingdao*. Jinan Shi, Shandong: Shandong you yi chu ban she, 2009. 118-125.

In Germany, the development of Jugendstil went through two periods. Before 1900, it used plant motifs to mimic British arts and crafts movements, with sinuous and natural lines.<sup>79</sup> After 1900, it evolved its own style with more abstract and concise forms. It has more in line with the emerging modernist architectural style.

### 3.2.2 General Characteristics of German Architecture in Qingdao

The development of Qingdao construction technology during the German colonial period was the selective absorption of western construction technology by local artisans under the distinct social conditions and the creative transformation of traditional Chinese construction technology, which reflected the resilience of traditional Chinese culture and the wisdom and creativity of Chinese artisans.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the East and West cultures first met in some coastal cities in China. The tension caused by the difference between the two cultures is still evident today. In 1926, the sinologist Richard Wilhelm described his impression about the tension: "

*In the Gothic cathedral: striving, movement, excess, up into the ever steeper vertiginous airs, away from the earth into the empty blue of the abstract, the hereafter. Here in the Chinese palace: awareness of the earth, tranquility, unlimited spaces aligned in width and depth, time as space, the great refined ability to wait, contented reality spread out on the secure earth, yellow and strong shining through colors; above, a presentiment, the great elevated blue sky spans and lends meaning: unity of sky and earthm eternity a concrete appearance in time, the sublime on this side of the great divide.*<sup>80</sup>

At that time, only a few Europeans, such as Wilhelm, could describe Chinese architecture without any bias. Most only criticized the single-courtyard houses in the Chinese cities. There were no tall buildings such as towers or even parks

<sup>79</sup> Lü Chuansheng, and Shengqi Gong. Yu Jian Zhu Dui Hua: Pin Du Qingdao Deguo Zong Du Lou Jiu Zhi Bo Wu Guan = Dialogue with Architecture: Looking into the Museum of the Former German Governor's House in Qingdao. Jinan Shi, Shandong: Shandong you yi chu ban she, 2009. 118-125.

<sup>80</sup> Wilhelm Richard, Die Seele Chinas, Berlin 1926. 266.

for people's leisure time. Most of the verdant gardens were hidden in the deep courtyard of the traditional Chinese houses. Although many Europeans at that time had heard about the delicate Chinese gardens, they had no opportunity to see them.

During the Rococo period, 1730-1780, Chinese art was fashionable in Europe. Frederick the Great even built a Chinese teahouse in Sanssouci, Potsdam, between 1754-1757.<sup>81</sup> The Chippendale furniture style that was popular in the world at that time was also the product of the influence by the Chinese arts and craftsmanship of this period.<sup>82</sup> However, in the nineteenth century, most historians in Europe focused on Greek and Roman architecture rather than paying attention to Chinese architecture. Therefore, when Europeans started their businesses in China, they were surprised at the Chinese architecture and traditional art.

The German engineer Heinrich Hildebrand was the first German to conduct in-depth research on Chinese architecture. He published a dissertation on Dajue Temple, which was located in the suburbs of Beijing in 1897.<sup>83</sup> Architect Ernst Boerschmann went on a field trip to China from 1906 to 1909. During the trip, he studied Chinese architecture systematically and then introduced it to Europe by writing books and articles. However, due to World War I, these works and articles were only published in the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>84</sup>

After several coastal cities in China were opened as commercial ports, an increasing number of business people and missionaries traveled to China for their work. The first problem these pioneers faced to was determine a building form that was suitable for the local climate and which kept the indoors cool. Moreover, most Europeans sought to maintain their lifestyles. British merchants, therefore, built their new homes in China based on a successful

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81 Warner, Torsten. *Deutsche Architektur in China : Architekturtransfer = German Architecture in China : Architectural Transfer*. Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, c1994. 10.

82 Ibid

83 Ibid 11.

84 Boerschmann, Ernst, *Chinesische Architektur*, Berlin 1925, and *Chinesische Pagoden*, Berlin and Leipzig 1931.

building type in the Indian colony, which consisted of a single-story layout with loggias on all sides. As land prices rose, multi-story buildings with shaded loggias surrounding each floor appeared in European commercial districts. This building type is known as "Comprador Architectural Style" (买办建筑风格) named by a Chinese middleman who cooperated with foreign investors.<sup>85</sup> The German colonial architecture in Qingdao at the time also followed this design. Only a few Europeans consciously attempted to embrace the Chinese lifestyle and lived in a traditional Chinese courtyard house.

The embassies that were built in Beijing were all traditional Chinese style buildings, as it was easier to adapt to local conditions, obtain materials, and use local artisans and their familiar construction methods. Many of the buildings were extensions of the original buildings in China, but the distances and positions between the houses were not arranged traditionally. A particular example of using these traditional buildings is the German Governor's Hall in Qingdao before 1906. The governor worked in the traditional Chinese multi-entry courtyard house, which was the former private residence of a Chinese Governor during the Qing Dynasty.

Since the opening of the nine commercial ports, Europeans had obtained the right to purchase land and buy houses in specific areas. Within a few years, these European districts gradually developed according to European styles that were quite different from traditional Chinese urban districts, and they became the second hometown of Europeans living here. These foreigners, in a foreign country, were looking for a place to relax and enjoy their life outside of work.<sup>86</sup> Therefore, by incorporating familiar aspects of their hometown they were able to improve their life in China. They regularly held cultural activities, such as putting on plays, to ease their homesickness. However, they who were living abroad and retaining their own nationalities while interacting only with their compatriots. Each country had its own club, and their children attend schools run by compatriots in China. The differences and uniqueness

85 Chen, Li. "德租时期青岛建筑研究 The Research of Qingdao Architecture in German Occupation Period." Dissertation, Tianjin University, 2006. 118-127.

86 Groeneveld, Sabina. "Far away at Home in Qingdao (1897-1914)." *German Studies Review* 39, no. 1 (2016): 65-79. doi:10.1353/gsr.2016.0034.



of architecture built by each country became increasingly apparent. In the first decades of establishing the colony, there were few differences between Chinese and Western architecture, but not various styles from different countries. At the beginning of the 20th century, there was a tendency for countries to try to express their national characteristics with their unique architectural styles.

In 1897, the German navy occupied the Jiaozhou Bay and immediately began to build Qingdao, which is the only city in East Asia built by Germany. Within a few years, Qingdao became the "Gallery of German Culture and Urban Construction Art," and it finally transformed into a pure German city in East Asia.<sup>87</sup> The decision regarding the architectural style for this new city caused much controversy at the time. The German Governor Oskar von Truppel believed that the new city should emphasize the German national identity and highlight the differences from other Chinese cities.<sup>88</sup> The buildings in the new city should follow the modern style. Germans widely accepted this opinion in Qingdao at the time. Initially, German architects knew little about China's climatic characteristics, so they retained the template for British colonial building.

Therefore, they predominantly adopted the British colonial building form that was very popular in Asia at that time. However, this phenomenon soon changed in another way. The steep German-style roof and the tall towers created a picturesque view. On the other hand, red bricks replaced the famous plain bricks in China.<sup>89</sup> Moreover, the exterior walls were plastered and painted with bright colors. Due to the building regulations, corrugated iron roofing was prohibited, so the red tile roof became a unique sight in Qingdao.<sup>90</sup> Granite was a cheap material in the Qingdao area at the time. In addition, granite decorative components were accessible in Germany, so granite became a typical building material for people to use in Qingdao. The granite in Qingdao, collected from the Laoshan area, was initially used for the foundation of the building and can

87 Ostasiatischer Lloyd, Shanghai, 13. September 1912. 232.

88 Tsingtauer Neueste Nachrichten, Tsingtao, 16 December 1913. 2.

89 He, Zhong. "The Origin of Red Tiles." *The Origin of Red Tiles. Qingdao, Shandong: Qingdao Shufang*, 2016.

90 Ibid

be seen in many buildings constructed by Germans.<sup>91</sup> The three main façades of the Governor's Hall, completed in 1906, are entirely finished with granite slates. The Governor's Residence constructed in 1907 and the Christian church built in 1901 were also chiseled with rusticated granite walls.<sup>92</sup>

During the rule of Kaiser Wilhelm II (1888-1918), many buildings, especially those in the countryside, used granite as the primary material, for example, the Kaiser's Palace in Berlin, which was designed by architect Franz Schwechten in the Romanesque style in 1910. Alfons Paquet likened this majestic imperial palace to the German governor's residence in Qingdao.<sup>93</sup> The architectural style that was quite popular during the ruling period of Wilhelm II was influential at that time. Many German architects who came to China were quite familiar with this style, and some of them used it as a design model.<sup>94</sup> The full-size statue of the Kaiser Wilhelm II riding a horse, constructed at the Deutsches Eck at the juncture of the Rhine and Moselle rivers in Koblenz in 1897, is an influential example. The skill of creating a rough texture of granite and the decoration of figures and animals on the statue is a likely origin of the decorations for the Governor's Hall in Qingdao.<sup>95</sup>

The neo-Romanesque style, was very popular in Qingdao for designing administration buildings during the reign of Kaiser Wilhelm II, along with the more modern Jugendstil. Similar to the Rococo style, Jugendstil drew inspiration from Asian art and used it as a motif. At that time, the most beautiful buildings in Qingdao blended the neo-Romanesque and Jugendstil in their design.

Compared to the German colonial architecture in Africa, the quality of German colonial architecture in China is far greater. Some buildings are even superior

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91 Tan, Lingge. “青岛德国总督官邸旧址建筑技术研究 Study on the Construction Technology of the Former German Governor's Residence in Qingdao.” Thesis, Qingdao Technological University, 2017. 25-28.

92 Ibid

93 Paquet, Alfons, *Li oder Im neuen Osten*, Frankfurt 1913. 297.

94 Seidel, Paul: *Der Kaiser und die Kunst*, Berlin 1907. 36.

95 Warner, Torsten. *Deutsche Architektur in China : Architekturtransfer = German Architecture in China : Architectural Transfer*. Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, c1994. 14.

in quality to those back in Germany at the time. At this time, German colonial architecture in China began to develop a unique style. While Chinese craftsmen constructed the building according to the design, they inevitably blended their experience and cultural background knowledge of constructing traditional Chinese buildings into the actual process. When comparing the German colonial architecture in China and Africa of the same period, the buildings in Africa are far simpler in terms of construction and building structure. Since colonial powers divided Africa, each area did not relate to each other, so they followed their own paths.<sup>96</sup> Therefore, the construction skill of traditional African architecture could not be compared to that of China. Even though the traditional clay architecture in Africa was initially quite exotic to the German architects, they could not persuaded to appropriate it.<sup>97</sup>

In contrast, the complexity of Chinese cities, palaces, and construction techniques enticed the Western architects to compete against it in order to consolidate the advantages of Western technology. Architectural design and urban planning are symbols of a country's industrial strength and quality. Therefore, to gain a certain share of the Chinese market, engineers and business people from various countries had to compete against their best designs and products.

Influenced by reality, German architects attempted to adapt to Chinese traditions. Railway stations along the two railway lines in Shandong Province are typical examples of the combination of Chinese and Western architectural styles.<sup>98</sup> All these stations, along the line from Qingdao to Jinan, had Chinese style roofs. At the same time, the Weimar Mission School for Chinese Boys in Qingdao and the Huazhi'an Hospital, which served the Chinese, all used the traditional Chinese layout.<sup>99</sup> In order for the Chinese who were involved in this

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96 OSAYIMWESE, ITOHAN. "Architecture and the Myth of Authenticity During the German Colonial Period." *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 24, no. 2 (2013): 11–22. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41945720>.

97 Rohrbach, Paul, *Die deutschen Kolonien*, Dachau 1914.

98 Warner, Torsten. *Deutsche Architektur in China : Architekturtransfer = German Architecture in China : Architectural Transfer*. Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, c1994. 15.

99 Lü Chuansheng, and Shengqi Gong. *Yu Jian Zhu Dui Hua: Pin Du Qingdao Deguo Zong Du Lou Jiu Zhi Bo Wu Guan = Dialogue with Architecture: Looking into the Museum of the Former German Governor's House in Qingdao*. Jinan Shi, Shandong: Shandong you yi chu ban she, 2009. 16-25.

activity to feel familiar with the environment, the traditional Chinese courtyard, Siheyuan, was a good option for the purpose. In addition, according to the Feng Shui Jing, which the Chinese followed, the advantages and disadvantages of site selection are closely related to one's destiny. If the towering building is not oriented by Feng Shui, such as the Chinese pagoda, it will always be an evil sign for the local people.<sup>100</sup> Thus, the missionaries were cautious about Feng Shui in order to avoid making the church an evil sign to local Chinese residents. The typical structure of German trusses is a cross made up of wooden supports to stabilize each other. However, the cross shape is a taboo in China. The façades of the Governor's Residence, completed in 1899, and the seamen's club, which was founded the same year, still used these exposed wooden trusses as the main decoration, but this kind of trusses did not exist in the later German buildings in Qingdao. People relinquished this expression and only used vertical and horizontal wooden supports for decoration when constructing the trusses' structure. The "×" means wrong in Chinese and is unlucky for people who live in the house.<sup>101</sup> In addition, according to Feng Shui Jing, the stairs should avoid facing the entrance directly. In the German club in Qingdao, guests need to make a half-turn, just like a Chinese-style Zhaobi bypassed to enter the hall, and the stairs are located at the end of the hall.

Just as Europeans tried to respect and learn Chinese traditional customs, the Qing royal family also attempted to reform after defeating the Allied Forces of the Eight Powers in 1901. Until the fall of the Qing government in 1911, there were some quite successful imitations of Western architecture. In 1905, the Empress Dowager Cixi even built several palaces along the South China Sea that combined the Chinese and Western architectural styles.<sup>102</sup>

### 3.3 Urban Planning and Infrastructure in Qingdao during the German Colonial Period

The German Navy occupied Qingdao in 1897 and signed the Kiaochow

100 Lǚ Chuansheng, and Shengqi Gong. Yu Jian Zhu Dui Hua: Pin Du Qingdao Deguo Zong Du Lou Jiu Zhi Bo Wu Guan = Dialogue with Architecture: Looking into the Museum of the Former German Governor's House in Qingdao. Jinan Shi, Shandong: Shandong you yi chu ban she, 2009. 16-25.

101 Ibid

102 Ostasiatischer Lloyd, Shanghai, 13 January 1905. 82 and 8. September 1905. 459f.



Concession Treaty (《胶州租借条约》) with the Qing government the following year.<sup>103</sup> In May 1899, Germany revised its original plan in accordance with the occupation requirements and solicited opinions. In 1900, Qingdao's first urban plan was officially launched.<sup>104</sup> As colonists, the Germans were most concerned about stabilizing and strengthening their colonial rules, plundering the resources in North China, and the expanding their overseas hegemony. From the outset, the Germans advanced Qingdao's urban planning based on European-style urban models. The goal was to "gradually develop Qingdao into a base for the spread of European culture, especially the center of German culture in East Asia."<sup>105</sup>

The Statute of German Dependence announced on 14 June 1900 that the leased land was to be divided into internal and external circles: near Qingdao and other places as the internal circle, which was divided into nine districts, including Qingdao, Dabao Island, Xiaoniwa, and Mengjiagou, Xiaobao Island, Yangjia Village, Taidong Town, Saozhoutan, and Huiqian.<sup>106</sup> According to the charter, the inner boundary is further divided into European and Chinese areas.

The European area was demarcated as follows:

*From Friedrich Street (now southern part of Zhongshan Road) to the north of Hohenlohe street (now Dexian Road), proceeding from Xiaobeiling (today's signal mountain) to Fengtai Ridge (today's Qingdao mountain), and then along Mountains to Huiqian Dongshan to the sea.*<sup>107</sup>

Further restrictions included the following:

*It is not permitted to build Chinese residential houses within this boundary (that is to say it is not allowed to build houses for Chinese to use). Only a limited number*

103 Yuan, Rongsou. Jiao'ao Zhi /. Taipei : Wen hai chu ban she, 1969.28-68.

104 Han, Qiannan. “青岛近代建筑规则演变过程研究 (1897-1937) Study on the Evolution Process of Qingdao Modern Building Rules (1897-1937).” Thesis, Qingdao University of Technology, 2018. 18-21.

105 Chen, Li. “德租时期青岛建筑研究 The Research of Qingdao Architecture in German Occupation Period.” Dissertation, Tianjin University, 2006. 31-36.

106 Ibid

107 le, Mou. Qing Dao Quan Shu. Qing dao, Shandong: Qing dao chu ban she, 2014.

*of people and regular servants hired by Westerners are allowed to live in the area.*<sup>108</sup>

The area connected to the north of the European area, through the isolated area (now area around Huangdao Road and Pingdu Road), was the Chinese residential area and commercial area, also known as Dabao Island District. The zoning method is obviously discriminatory, which is the root cause of many social problems in the succeeding German colonial period. One of the reasons was that the early German Navy experienced a great plague when it first arrived in Qingdao, but the Chinese at the time did not have the corresponding health knowledge and habits. The use of outdoor public toilets, and other practices, did not have proper sanitary conditions and even killed German soldiers in large numbers at the time. Therefore, the Germans had to use the European area and the Chinese area to distinguish the living areas to avoid infection.

Qingdao District (European settlements), Dabaodao (Chinese businessmen's settlements), Taidongzhen (Chinese labor settlements), Taixizhen (slum settlements) were carried out according to the level of the social class in the initial planning. This discriminatory zoning plan is reflected explicitly in the form of urban road networks, necessary supporting facilities, and architectural design standards.

### **3.4 Influence of German Architecture in Later Colonial Period in Qingdao**

German architectural style is the core of Qingdao's overall look. Granite became popular again 70 years after Germany left Qingdao. Parallel to the appearance of post-modernism in Europe, Qingdao has rediscovered its unique architectural history and its native modernism. The houses built during the 1960s and 1970s all followed the existing German architectural style, and the city center retains its original appearance. The identical buildings built in the 1980s almost turned Qingdao into one of China's many generic cities, as the

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<sup>108</sup> le, Mou. Qing Dao Quan Shu. Qing dao, Shandong: Qing dao chu ban she, 2014.

case in the new northern part of Qingdao.<sup>109</sup> However, for the old central district of Qingdao, all newly built houses must be coordinated with five main colors unique to Qingdao: red tile roofs, yellow beaches, and building facades, green trees, blue sky, and dark blue sea.<sup>110</sup> These colors represent a delightful exotic atmosphere for those who have been to Qingdao. Keeping these five colors is undoubtedly retains the personality and charm of Qingdao. As one of the main cities for the Chinese Navy, there are many areas in Qingdao still under the jurisdiction of the Navy. Residential construction is prohibited in these military areas. Fortunately, because of the restriction, many buildings in the jurisdiction were evaded damage from the government during the Cultural Revolution. The new construction policy requires all new buildings to be covered with red tiles in order to keep their appearance. Due to the rapid increasing of population and limited space in Qingdao, people are adding floors to the original German-built houses, which are usually two or three stories high. In order to achieve a similar proportion to the original look, the additional top-floor exterior wall is commonly covered with red tiles to create a Mansard roof.<sup>111</sup> When pedestrians look up to the roof, this method can help achieve a similar appearance to the original building. The appearance of the Mansard roof not only met the required eave height, but also ensured that the height of the top floor was not lower than that of other floors. Later, Qingdao's urban construction regulations inspired the architect's creative inspiration. By reusing some German architectural components as corner towers, Baroque gable decorations, and some imitation of wooden trusses facades by using ceramic tiles, the 19th-century German Renaissance and Romanesque architecture was revived in Qingdao.<sup>112</sup> The exterior walls of Qingdao buildings were painted predominantly in emperor yellow at this time. (Figure 29) The office building of Qingdao City Hall, completed in 1989, is the most typical example for using the architectural techniques adopted by German architects in the construction of Qingdao in the early twentieth century. The exterior of the building completely copied the administrative office building of the Governor's Hall. The renaissance of

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109 He, Zhong. "The Origin of Red Tiles." *The Origin of Red Tiles*. Qingdao, Shandong: Qingdao Shufang, 2016.

110 Ibid

111 Warner, Torsten. *Deutsche Architektur in China : Architekturtransfer = German Architecture in China : Architectural Transfer*. Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, c1994. 20.

112 He, Zhong. "The Origin of Red Tiles." *The Origin of Red Tiles*. Qingdao, Shandong: Qingdao Shufang, 2016.

Figure 29. Aerial view showing the new buildings with red tiles. Source: The Origin of Red Tiles.



German colonial architecture in Qingdao, which began in the 1980s, is a new chapter in the history of Chinese architecture in the 20th century.

When reviewing the architectural history of Qingdao, the influence of German architecture and culture is vast and undeniable. The integration of German architectural culture and Chinese architectural culture provides the uniqueness of architecture in Qingdao. It is not accidental that German architectural culture has become the main subject of Qingdao's architectural culture, but the result of historical selection. This is due to the lack of local culture and the lack of development of coastal areas during the Qing Dynasty. Because of the sea embargo policy created by the Qing government, the coastal areas were still under undeveloped. As a result, mainland culture has weak impact to coastal areas, especially areas like Qingdao, which were relatively barren before opened the port. This situation created a perfect condition for the German's successful landing. The weak impact from the traditional culture provided the prerequisites for further development in Qingdao. Furthermore, Western culture was more powerful than Eastern culture in the 18th century.<sup>113</sup> For example, German culture, which was also an invading culture in Qingdao, was more pervasive than Japanese culture. This phenomenon also led to the survival of

113 Qu, Xiaolei. “屈辱与认同之间：清末民初国人眼中的德国形象 -- 以胶澳租借地为中心 Between Humiliation and Identity: The German Image in the Eyes of the People in the Late Qing Dynasty and Early Republic of China.” *社会科学辑刊 Social Science Series*, no. 5 (2010). 156-163.



Figure 30. Current Qingdao with German style.



German culture in Qingdao and the decline of Japanese Culture. The same thing took place in Dalian, which had been leased by Tsarist Russia for only six years (1898-1904).

However, during the 40-year occupation of Dalian by Japanese colonists from 1905-1945, no change took place in the formed part of Tsarist Russia's planning. By following the urban planning of Tsarist Russia, the Japanese kept refining and adjusting the undeveloped part to coordinate with the Russian urban construction.<sup>114</sup> These all indicates that under the overpowering invasion of dominant Western culture, Japanese culture, which was also an invading culture, was unconfident and bowed to Western culture, which eventually led to its demise as an unsuccessful invading culture. Moreover, German culture is the only Western culture that occupied Qingdao. Due to the invasion of multiple Western cultures, cities with colonial histories, such as Tianjin and Shanghai do not have a single cultural characteristic that represents the whole city. Since each city was divided by different concessions and influenced by different cultures, they would convey a more general and vague impression. In contrast,

114 Wu, Jiahua. “论‘空间殖民主义’ About ‘Space Colonialism.’” *The Journal of Architecture*, no. 1 (1995).

Figure 31. Changzhou Road Prison in 1900s.  
Source: Qingdao Municipal Archives.



German culture is the only Western culture in Qingdao, and it is decisive in all aspects of politics and the economy, which results in an entire city that is fully defined by German characteristics.

### CHANGZHOU ROAD PRISON COMPLEX

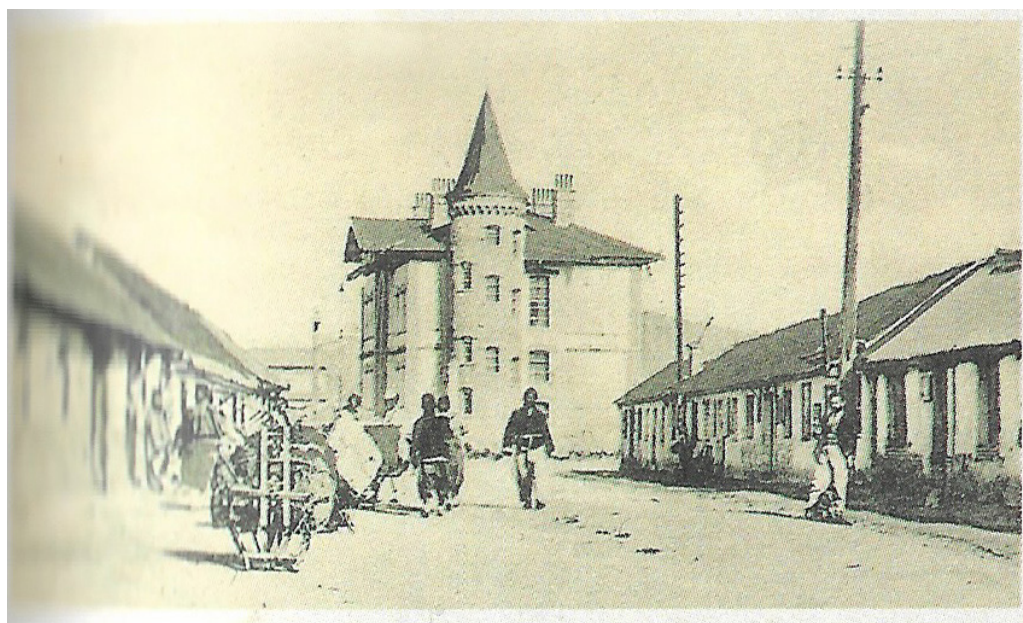
#### 4.1 Analysis of Existing Buildings in Changzhou Road Prison Complex

The Qingdao Prison (currently called the Changzhou Road Prison), built by the German Governor's Office in 1900, was initially used to hold European prisoners sentenced to imprisonment or waiting for trials.<sup>115</sup> (Figure 31) It was the earliest permanent administrative building in Qingdao after November

<sup>115</sup> Yang, Changming, and Zhang, Fan. “百年监狱的再生 —— 青岛常州路监狱的保护、修复与再利用 Reborn of Century Prison: Conservation, Renovation and Adaptive Reuse of Changzhou Road Prison in Qingdao.” *Journal of HIT(Social Sciences Edition)* 12, no. 3 (201005). 36-44.



Figure 32. The tower facing to the Market Street.  
Source: Tsingtau auf der alte Ansichtskarte.



1897.<sup>116</sup> On the first urban plan that was made public in September 1898, the prison was to be constructed on the northwest side of the former Governor's Hall, which was used by the Qing government.<sup>117</sup> However, the prison was too close to the residential area, and the tower on the west side faced directly onto the main road in Qingdao, Market Street.<sup>118</sup> (Figure 32) The disadvantages and unsafe factors were evident, which indicates that the government apparently lacked long-term considerations in selecting the prison's location and the overall planning. Perhaps at that time, the Germans did not expect the city to develop that rapidly, so they merely adopted this as a more conservative plan. In the magazine supplement, *London and China Telecommunications* (《伦敦及中国电讯》), published in November 1900, an article entitled "Return to the Far East: Jiao'ao" (《重返远东：胶澳》) states the following:

*"The new prison does not look very coordinated with this city. No matter how to consider the decision, the prison should be located at a farther and more isolated place.*

116 Sun, Chunlei. "近代青岛监狱犯人日常生活史问题研究 (1897年-1943年) Research on the Daily Life History of Modern Qingdao Prisoners (1897-1943)." Thesis, Qingdao University, 20180513. 14-15.

117 Ibid

118 Binjiu, Yuan. *Qingdao Lao Jian Zhu Zhi lu* = A Tour of Historic Buildings in Qingdao. Qingdao, Shandong: Zhongguo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2016. 311-313.

*It is apparently many suitable places for prison.*"<sup>119</sup>

In the same year, the Qingdao Police Department transformed the former Qing Army Yingwu camp (named Strandlager in German) near the railway station as a detention center and temporary prison for Chinese prisoners. In 1904, Li Cun Prison was completed.<sup>120</sup> Thereafter, Chinese prisoners sentenced to detention for more than three months were sent to Li Cun Prison. The original detention center and temporary prison were used as new detention centers. In the contemporary writings, this prison is called the "European prison." Nevertheless, it would be more accurate to call this prison, which held European prisoners, "Qingdao Prison," as opposed to the Li Cun Prison, where Chinese prisoners were incarcerated.

In the early years of the 20th century, the tower of Qingdao Prison became a symbol of this emerging city. The designer of the prison left no reliable historical documentations, but it is most likely the work of the German architect, Max Knopff.<sup>121</sup> As a government architect who had been in Qingdao since 1898, Knopff had participated in the mapping and construction of roads.<sup>122</sup> Among other projects, he presided over the design of early buildings in Qingdao, such as the Chapel of the Governor's Palace and the Hospital of the Supervision Department.<sup>123</sup> Qingdao Prison is a two-story building with a basement and an attic, occupying a site of 6309 square meters.<sup>124</sup> It is easy to identify the functions of the building at the first glance. The simple modification of the building's frame and window cover with clean-mudded wall is a feature of many early buildings in Qingdao. A cylindrical tower at the west end of the main body. The upper section is a conical roof with a "rooster" -shaped weather vane (the weather vane no longer exists).<sup>125</sup> This tower design appears to break the symmetrical structure of the building. However, it is somewhat too

119 Wang, Dong. Qing Dao Ying Xiang: Ming Xin Pian Zhong De Cheng Shi Ji Yi = Tsingtau Auf Der Alte Ansichtskarte. Qing dao: Zhong guo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2017. 187

120 Ibid 187.

121 Ibid 188.

122 Ibid 188.

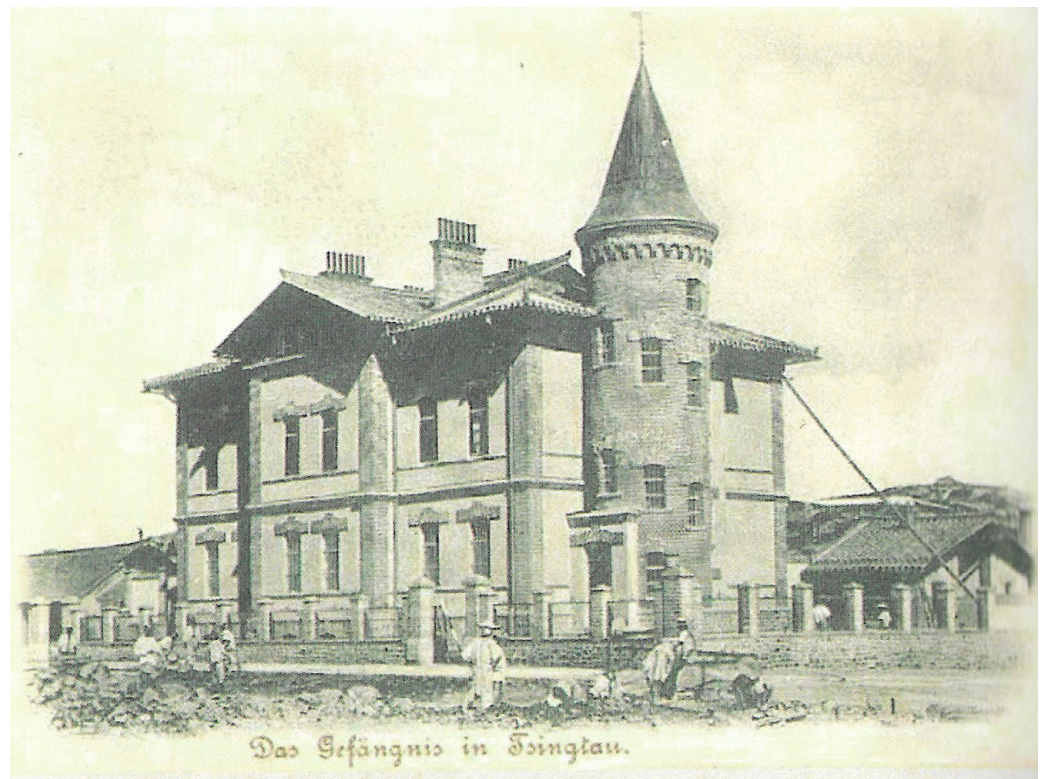
123 Ibid 188.

124 Binjiu, Yuan. Qingdao Lao Jian Zhu Zhi lu = A Tour of Historic Buildings in Qingdao. Qingdao, Shandong: Zhongguo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2016. 313.

125 Dong, Yecheng. "中国现存最早的近代监狱建筑——德建青岛监狱评析." Sichuan Building Science 39, no. 6 (201312). 316-318.



Figure 33. The Changzhou Road Prison in 1900s.  
Source: Tsingtau auf der alte Ansichtskarte.



rigid for the purpose. In addition to the inner 47-step staircase, several small windows are regularly staggered.<sup>126</sup> Strictly speaking, the style of this building is not typically German. As can be seen from the earlier photos, the design of the prison roof incorporates many Chinese architectural elements, as well as the use of Chinese-style gray tube tiles. (Figure 33) This type of building, with its Chinese and Western palette of material, was common in Qingdao's early architecture. Perhaps it is because of the lack of suitable building materials at that time, or the architects' lack of understanding of Qingdao's climate, but it may also be that the essence of traditional Chinese architectural art influenced the early architects to some extent.

The prison is constructed predominantly from brick and wood. There is an entrance on both the east and west sides of the prison. The east side is connected to the main entrance of the prison, and from the west-side entrance one can go straight to the top of the tower. Prisoners were detained in the first-floor

<sup>126</sup> Binjiu, Yuan. Qingdao Lao Jian Zhu Zhi lü = A Tour of Historic Buildings in Qingdao. Qingdao, Shandong: Zhongguo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2016. 311-313.

Figure 34. Audirons in the prison.



and third-floor cells.<sup>127</sup> The design of the second floor is unique. A wall in the building divides the room into two.<sup>128</sup> The north side of the building consists of the jailors' offices, and prison cells occupy the south side.<sup>129</sup> Each cell is equipped with heavy doors, and small windows with iron grills in the doors allow surveillance by corrections officers. Moreover, all cells are equipped with audirons, which provided prisoners with heat in winter. (Figure 34)

In 1914, Japan occupied Qingdao, and Qingdao Prison was renamed as the Japanese Defense Forces Command Prison.<sup>130</sup> It was used to detain Chinese arrested by the Japanese military police within Qingdao or even in Shandong Province. The detainees were generally prisoners awaiting trial or sentenced to imprisonment. In December 1922, after China regained Qingdao's sovereignty, the prison was replaced by the Jiao'ao (Qingdao) Local Procuratorate Detention

127 Dong, Yecheng. "中国现存最早的近代监狱建筑——德建青岛监狱评析." *Sichuan Building Science* 39, no. 6 (2013): 316-318.

128 Wang, Dong. *Qing Dao Ying Xiang: Ming Xin Pian Zhong De Cheng Shi Ji Yi* = Tsingtau Auf Der Alte Ansichtskarte. Qing dao: Zhong guo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2017. 189.

129 Dong, Yecheng. "中国现存最早的近代监狱建筑——德建青岛监狱评析." *Sichuan Building Science* 39, no. 6 (2013): 316-318.

130 Binjiu, Yuan. *Qingdao Lao Jian Zhu Zhi lu* = A Tour of Historic Buildings in Qingdao. Qingdao, Shandong: Zhongguo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2016. 311-313.

Center, and later changed to the Qingdao Local Court Detention Center.<sup>131</sup> In the 1920s and 1930s, the government built four two-story prison blocks, a prison factory, and offices on the east side of the main prison building. The five prison buildings were named "Ren( 仁 )," "Yi( 义 )," "Li( 礼 )," "Zhi( 智 )," and "Xin( 信 )."<sup>132</sup> In January 1938, after the second Japanese occupation of Qingdao, a Japanese navy prison was established here.<sup>133</sup> In January 1939, after the establishment of the interim Qingdao Special City Office, the Japanese Navy transferred most of the detention cells of the detention center to the interim Qingdao District Court, which is still known as the Qingdao District Court Detention Center.<sup>134</sup> After 1949, the prison became the detention center of the Qingdao Public Security Bureau.<sup>135</sup> In 1995, the detention center moved out, and the building remained empty until 2004.<sup>136</sup>

In December 2004, the Qingdao Municipal People's Government decided to develop it into a legal education base in Qingdao; in June 2005, it was recognized as "national key cultural relics protection units" ( 全国重点文物保护单位 ).<sup>137</sup> On 29 April 2007, the former prison site was opened to the public as the Qingdao German Prison Museum.<sup>138</sup>

## 4.2 Evaluation of Current Preservation

According to interviews in an episode of the television program "Weekend Talk: Memories of the City-European Prison," the local people and media in Qingdao generally refer to the Changzhou Road Prison Complex as the "European castle."<sup>139</sup> The classification is not very academic, but the public opinion about

131 Binjiu, Yuan. *Qingdao Lao Jian Zhu Zhi lü* = A Tour of Historic Buildings in Qingdao. Qingdao, Shandong: Zhongguo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2016. 311-313.

132 Fang, Baishou, Wenwen Hong, and Libin Cai. "“监狱旅游”初探——以青岛德国监狱旧址博物馆为例 Initial Study on Prison Tourism." *Journal of Zhengzhou Institute of Aeronautical Industry Management* 26, no. 2 (January 22, 2008). 136-139.

133 Sun, Chunlei. "近代青岛监狱犯人日常生活史问题研究 (1897年-1943年) Research on the Daily Life History of Modern Qingdao Prisoners (1897-1943)." Thesis, Qingdao University, 20180513. 34-36 and 40-41.

134 Ibid

135 Ibid

136 Ibid

137 Wang, Zhenming, Xiaojing Wang, and Bin Yang. "百年壁垒现代意义的崭新诠释——青岛市常州路监狱修复改造设计 New Interpretation of the Modern Sense of Century Barrier -- Restoration and Remodeling of Qingdao Changzhou Road Prison." *Industrial Construction* 30, no. 1 (2009). 138-141.

138 Ibid

139 The television program in Qingdao TV "周末讲述 Weekend Talk." 2006.

the prison indicates that the main building of the prison has no apparent features except for the prominent castle towers. According to Li Ming's article, "Qingdao: Three buildings and a history of urban colonization" (《青岛：三座建筑 and 一部城市殖民史》)

*The two-story building was designed with a specific purpose. The hurriedly completed building has brick exterior walls and some simple decorations at the corners of the main body and the top of the windows. The decoration helped a bit to make the entire building look not that crude and heavy... There is a circular tower connected to the main body, which makes the center of the building tilt in the tower's direction, but this design seems to be added to break the symmetrical structure of the building. Therefore, the combination looks a bit stiff and out of proportion.<sup>140</sup>*

Apart from recording the completion and opening time in the "Jiaozhou Regional Development Memorandum" (《胶州地区发展备忘录》)<sup>141</sup>, which documents Qingdao from 1898 to 1909, no documents were found to record its design, and construction process, or related drawings.

Apparently, this prison was built under the pressure of rapid development commanded by the Germans. Therefore, unlike other administrative buildings in Qingdao, the building has a rugged design. In other words, the value of the Changzhou Road Prison complex lies in its historical value. These factors give rise to the following questions: why should it be protected and how should

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140 Li, Ming. "青岛：三座建筑 and 一部城市殖民史 Three Buildings and a History of Urban Colonization." NetEase News, 2009. [https://web.archive.org/web/20180121072031/http://history.news.163.com/09/0217/08/52BE6J7S00011247\\_all.html](https://web.archive.org/web/20180121072031/http://history.news.163.com/09/0217/08/52BE6J7S00011247_all.html).

141 "Jiaozhou Regional Development Memorandum" started publishing since October 1898, and one volume would be published every year. Due to the huge printing cost, after the 12th issue of 1909 was published, it changed its type into yearbook. In Germany, these volumes and yearbooks are in various locations, which are the German Federal Archives main building (Koblenz City), the German Federal Archives Naval Branch (Freiburg City) and the Federal Archives Imperial Branch (Berlin). In China Only the National Library of China and Peking University Library have collected a few of them, and there are no early years of collection and publication.



it be protected? These questions are also relevant when evaluating historical buildings and, under the current Chinese policies, determining the level of intervention.

It is impossible and unnecessary for people to protect all historical buildings indiscriminately.<sup>142</sup> Moreover, the purpose of preservation is to honestly and comprehensively preserve and retain its historical information and values from significant perspectives. Therefore, the evaluation of historical buildings is the primary and decisive work in the preservation of historical buildings.

The "Guidelines for the Protection of Chinese Cultural Relics and Historic Sites" (《中国文物古迹保护准则》) clearly states that "research and evaluation" is one of the working procedures for preserving Chinese cultural relics and historical sites.<sup>143</sup> However, in actual practice, the judgment and evaluation of historical buildings and even cultural relics still remain vague and controversial. The earliest document, dated 1961, defines standards of evaluation as the "Interim Regulations on the Management of the Protection of Cultural Relics" (《文物保护单位暂行条例》). According to the document, three values need to be considered when evaluating historical buildings and relics, which include "historical value, artistic value, and scientific value." The standard prevails as a policy at the level of laws and regulations, but there is no further interpretation of its meaning and practice. Compared with the relevant international charters and regulations, its literal definition of "value" is relatively limited. Not even established a systematic and universal value theory has been established about evaluating historical buildings, such as that of the Austrian scholar Rigel's "Historical Building Value Theory."<sup>144</sup> In this case, the evaluation of historic buildings lacks theoretical support. Even if the quantitative evaluation method is used, it is difficult to exclude the subjectivity and randomness of factors and coefficients that might inform such values.

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142 Chang Qing. Criticism of the authenticity of the restoration of historical buildings [J]. *Times Architecture*, 2009, (1).

143 Yang, Changming, and Fan Zhang. "百年监狱的再生——青岛常州路监狱的保护、修复与再利用 Reborn of Century Prison: Conservation, Renovation and Adaptive Reuse of Changzhou Road Prison in Qingdao." *Journal of HIT(Social Sciences Edition)* 12, no. 3 (201005). 138-141.

144 Li Hongyan. Interpretation of Riegel's theory of historical architecture [J]. *Architect*, 2009 (02): 41-46

Figure 35. Site plan before the renovation. Source: Qingdao Tengyuan Design Institute co., Ltd.



Figure 36. Site plan after the renovation. Source: Qingdao Tengyuan Design Institute co., Ltd.





Figure 37. Exhibitions in the Prison Museum.

The preservation of the prison complex also reflects the limitation of unclear evaluation of values. Based on the photographs and drawings of the renovation, the design team fared well with the preservation of the prison building. (Figure 35) They followed the principle of "respecting the historical appearance and focusing on the protection of cultural relics" ( 修旧如旧 ), so they demolished recently added structures to reveal the original prison. In the original plan, three of the five prison buildings constructed during the rule of the Nanjing Nationalist government should be repaired and used as exhibition space, and the remainder can be used as hotels and restaurants.<sup>145</sup> (Figure 36) In terms of technology, the external wall was repaired with the German material Finkau in order to make the building look the same as the original.<sup>146</sup>

Currently, the prison building is well preserved. The origin of the prison is intact and well maintained. However, the prison site does not fully convey the prison and its history. According to the preservation record, the museum is intended to demonstrate the judicial system during the different colonial periods.<sup>147</sup>

Moreover, the prison, together with the Governor's Hall and the court, can

<sup>145</sup> Wang, Zhenming, Xiaojing Wang, and Bin Yang. "百年壁垒现代意义的崭新诠释——青岛市常州路监狱修复改造设计 New Interpretation of the Modern Sense of Century Barrier -- Restoration and Remodeling of Qingdao Changzhou Road Prison." *Industrial Construction* 30, no. 1 (2009). 138-141.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid

<sup>147</sup> Based on the material provided by Qingdao Tengyuan Design Institute co., Ltd.



Figure 38. Hotels in the Prison Complex. Source: Qingdao Tengyuan Design Institute co., Ltd.



provide an itinerary for tourists to discover more about the colonial history of Qingdao. According to the photographs that were taken since the opening of the museum, the plan appeared to be on track. However, due to unknown reasons, the museum abandoned the original plan and began to function more as a patriotic education base, and it pays more attention to the history of the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression. Dummies in the cells indicate the location where martyrs against the Japanese died, and the exhibitions only show a partial history of the prison. (Figure 37) Moreover, the buildings that were built during the Nanjing Nationalist rule do not pay homage to their own history; instead, they are used as offices and as a place for students to meet. (Figure 38) The renovation of the complex did not fully utilize historical resources to show people the history of the prison.

The failure of the interpretation might due to the separation of European prisoners and Chinese prisoners during the German colonial period. Since Chinese prisoners all stayed in the Li Cun Prison, no direct relationship existed between Chinese prisoners and European prisoners. The exhibitions in the prison museum did not actively connect the judicial history and the Chinese



people, so the Chinese tourists are not interested in visiting the site. On the other hand, the exhibitions did create a connection with the Japanese colonial period, but based on the comments on the Google Map and other similar travel websites, most tourists think the prison museum is boring and stubborn, so it is not worth spending time there. Furthermore, in Chinese culture, a prison is an ominous place and, similar to a cemetery, it relates to the death of people. Therefore, unless something is able to attract people, Chinese tourists usually will not intentionally visit a prison museum.

Overall, as the first batch of "national key cultural relics protection unit," the Changzhou Road Prison Complex is physically well preserved, but the interpretation of the prison and the judicial system along with the colonial history still need further considerations.

## **GERMANIA BREWERY**

### **4.3 Analysis of Germania Brewery**

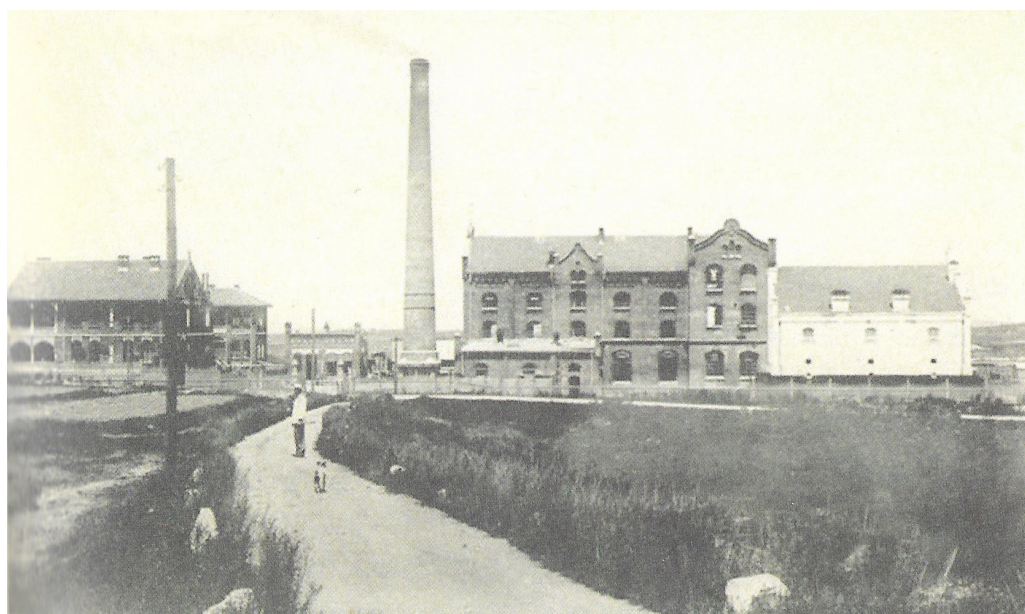
Beer was introduced into China after the Opium Wars. A steady stream of merchants probably brought this beverage with them, which had long been popular in Europe, to the people who do not know it yet. In 1900, the Russians invested in a beer factory in Northeast China and produced the first bottle of beer in Chinese history, Harbin Beer.<sup>148</sup> Subsequently, business people from Europe began to open beer factories in major Chinese ports to meet the different needs of local business people and visitors from Western countries. For a long time after the introduction of beer into China, most Chinese did not accept this slightly bitter drink, which has a significantly different taste from the traditional white wine and rice wine. The primary consumers of many brands of beer are still Westerners in China, and occasionally Chinese people who want to show their wealth.

The history of Tsingtao Brewery also dates back more than 100 years. In May 1899, the Governor's Office established the Maoqi Barracks (Moltke-

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<sup>148</sup> Wang, Dong. Qing Dao Ying Xiang: Ming Xin Pian Zhong De Cheng Shi Ji Yi = Tsingtau Auf Der Alte Ansichtskarte. Qing dao: Zhong guo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2017. 19-36.

Figure 39. Germania Brewery in 1903. Source: Tsingtau auf der alte Ansichtskarte.



Kasernen) at the eastern foot of Mount Maoqi (now Mount Zhushui). Shortly after the barracks officially opened in 1903, the German Conrad Vogel opened a restaurant called "Neue Sorge" opposite the barracks gate.<sup>149</sup> Since Germans traditionally drink beer at parties or during leisure time and, together with the proximity to the barracks, the business boomed.

On 4 April 1903, the German professional newspaper *Brewers and Hops* (《酿造者与酒花》) published the following message: "According to the *Germany-Asia Watcher Weekly* (《德亚瞭望周刊》) of Qingdao, China, beer consumers in Qingdao will hear that our colony has new development that Qingdao will start from scratch to brew high-quality beer, and Landman and Kyle will build a brewery here."<sup>150</sup> In August, companies such as Harrys, Slovoigt and British businessmen in Hong Kong co-registered the Anglo-German Brewing Co., Ltd. (also known as Yingde Brewery Co., Ltd.) and invested 440,000 yuan to build a brewery on Captain Müller Street (now Dengzhou Road) on the west side of Maoqi Barracks.<sup>151</sup> This is the initial Germania Brewery (known as Germania Brauerei Akt.-Ges., Tsingtau in German). (Figure 39)

149 Jin, Zhiguo, and Shengqi Gong. 一杯沧海 -- 品读青岛啤酒博物馆 Yi Bei Cang Hai--Reading Qingdao Museum. Ji nan, Shandong: Shan dong you yi chu ban she, 2008. 19-36.

150 Wang, Dong. Qing Dao Ying Xiang: Ming Xin Pian Zhong De Cheng Shi Ji Yi = Tsingtau Auf Der Alte Ansichtskarte. Qing dao: Zhong guo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2017. 296.

151 Jin, Zhiguo, and Shengqi Gong. 一杯沧海 -- 品读青岛啤酒博物馆 Yi Bei Cang Hai--Reading Qingdao Museum. Ji nan, Shandong: Shan dong you yi chu ban she, 2008. 19-36.



Figure 40. Current "A" office buildings in the brewery complex.

The first director of the Germania Brewery was Heinrich Siefert.<sup>152</sup> The well-known Qingdao contractor Guangbao Company, constructed the factory.<sup>153</sup> The saccharification production equipment and manufacturing equipment was designed and manufactured by Maschinenfabrik Germania in Chemnitz in 1893.<sup>154</sup> At the same time, Worms Firma Enzinger AG made refrigeration equipment that could provide 4,000 kg of artificial ice per day.<sup>155</sup> The plant's power was generated by a 60-horsepower steam turbine manufactured by Qingdao Electric Light Factory.<sup>156</sup> Bottle washing, capping and labeling equipment were among the most advanced of the time. The building complex consists of A and B office buildings, which were constructed in 1903, and a modern brewing plant.<sup>157</sup> (Figure 40) The building design focuses on functionality, so the building has concrete and brick walls and a red tile roof. The undulating curved gables on the upper part of the factory building are echoed above the doors and windows. The gables of the office building have exposed wooden truss structures, and the interior wooden stairs and door covers have many carvings. The brewery was designed to produce 2,000 tons of beer

152 Wang, Dong. Qing Dao Ying Xiang: Ming Xin Pian Zhong De Cheng Shi Ji Yi = Tsingtau Auf Der Alte Ansichtskarte. Qing dao: Zhong guo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2017. 294-298.

153 Ibid 296.

154 Ibid 296.

155 Jin, Zhiguo, and Shengqi Gong. 一杯沧海 -- 品读青岛啤酒博物馆 Yi Bei Cang Hai--Reading Qingdao Museum. Ji nan, Shandong: Shan dong you yi chu ban she, 2008. 26-28.

156 Wang, Dong. Qing Dao Ying Xiang: Ming Xin Pian Zhong De Cheng Shi Ji Yi = Tsingtau Auf Der Alte Ansichtskarte. Qing dao: Zhong guo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2017. 294-298.

157 Binjiu, Yuan. Qingdao Lao Jian Zhu Zhi lu = A Tour of Historic Buildings in Qingdao. Qingdao, Shandong: Zhongguo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2016. 361-363.

per year. In October 1904, the factory in the Shanghai German News (《德文新报》) opening advertisement stated that "the quality beer produced by the Germania Brewery that belonged to Yingde Brewery Co., Ltd., uses the best German malt and hops from Bohemia or Bavaria using the fermentation process in Munich. This product strictly adheres to the German beer purity law, without adding any auxiliary ingredients ..." <sup>158</sup> In November of the same year, the first batch of products from Germania Brewery began to sell on the market. Paavo Holi said in A Brief History of Qingdao Germanic Brewery (《青岛日耳曼啤酒厂简史》), "Because the beer tasted better at the time and the price was lower than similar imported beer, the brewery entered a stable state from the beginning ... In return, although the brewery planned to be small at the time, it unexpectedly achieved excellent results." <sup>159</sup> In the 1906 Guide to Qingdao and Its Suburbs (《青岛及其近郊导游》), Beme and Krieger wrote, "To the delight of many beer enthusiasts, since the opening of the Germania Brewery at the end of 1904, Tsingtao beer kept its high-quality until now. Qingdao has such an energetic drinking atmosphere that people can buy a bottle of Munich black Beer or pilsner for 20 Pfenning." <sup>160</sup> In 1906, the German-style beer from the Germania brewery won the highest honor at the Munich Beer Expo. <sup>161</sup> In 1910, Martin Wehle, a brewer who had worked as a technician and workshop director at breweries in South America and Germany, took full responsibility for the plant. <sup>162</sup> In 1911, the export volume of beer reached 32,000 gallons. <sup>163</sup> F. M. Schulz and other agencies helped to sell beers to Shanghai, Tianjin, Lvshun, and other port cities as far as the northern seaports. <sup>164</sup>

In November 1914, Japan occupied Qingdao, and at the same, expropriated German holdings in the Germanic Brewery. In September 1916, the Japanese bought the remaining shares from the British merchants for 500,000 silver

158 Wang, Dong. Qing Dao Ying Xiang: Ming Xin Pian Zhong De Cheng Shi Ji Yi = Tsingtau Auf Der Alte Ansichtskarte. Qing dao: Zhong guo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2017. 296.

159 Ibid 297.

160 Tang, Shunying, Nirulian Hao, and Fengxiang Liu. "青岛啤酒与地方文化认同." Eastern Forum-Journal of Qingdao University (Social Science Edition, no. 5 (2019). 94-106.

161 Jin, Zhiguo, and Shengqi Gong. 一杯沧海 -- 品读青岛啤酒博物馆 Yi Bei Cang Hai--Reading Qingdao Museum. Ji nan, Shandong: Shan dong you yi chu ban she, 2008. 131-151.

162 Wang, Dong. Qing Dao Ying Xiang: Ming Xin Pian Zhong De Cheng Shi Ji Yi = Tsingtau Auf Der Alte Ansichtskarte. Qing dao: Zhong guo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2017. 297.

163 Ibid

164 Ibid



Figure 41. Dainippon Ale Co., Ltd. Qingdao Factory (Germania Brewery).  
Source: The Stories about Qingdao.



dollars, thus becoming sole owners of the brewery, and renamed it "Dainippon Ale Co., Ltd. Qingdao Factory."<sup>165</sup> (Figure 41) In addition to continuing to produce the light (Helles ) and black (Dunkles) German beer, they added Asahi, Sapporo, Kirin, and other brands of Japanese beer.<sup>166</sup> In 1936, the Japanese conducted a large-scale transformation of the brewery. In addition to improving the saccharification process, they also purchased more advanced bottling equipment from the Kubota Iron Plant in Japan, which increased the annual beer output to more than 4,660 tons.<sup>167</sup> In December 1941, after the outbreak of the Pacific War, the Japanese shipped part of the factory's equipment to Beijing. This new brewery later became another well-known brand in China, Beijing Beer (formerly known as Beiping Beer).<sup>168</sup> In August 1945, Japan was defeated and surrendered. The brewery belonged to Qilu Industrial Company under the name of the Kong Xiangxi family, and the factory was renamed "Tsingtao Brewery Company."<sup>169</sup> In 1947, it was named "Qingdao Brewery". This group of red buildings is the only entirely preserved German industrial building complex in Qingdao.<sup>170</sup>

165 Binjiu, Yuan. *Qingdao Lao Jian Zhu Zhi lu* = A Tour of Historic Buildings in Qingdao. Qingdao, Shandong: Zhongguo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2016. 361-363.

166 Wang Dong. *Qing Dao Ying Xiang: Ming Xin Pian Zhong De Cheng Shi Ji Yi* = Tsingtau Auf Der Alte Ansichtskarte. Qing dao: Zhong guo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2017. 294-298.

167 Jin, Zhiguo, and Shengqi Gong. *一杯沧海 -- 品读青岛啤酒博物馆 Yi Bei Cang Hai--Reading Qingdao Museum*. Ji nan, Shandong: Shan dong you yi chu ban she, 2008.

168 Wang Dong. *Qing Dao Ying Xiang: Ming Xin Pian Zhong De Cheng Shi Ji Yi* = Tsingtau Auf Der Alte Ansichtskarte. Qing dao: Zhong guo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2017. 294-298.

169 Binjiu, Yuan. *Qingdao Lao Jian Zhu Zhi lu* = A Tour of Historic Buildings in Qingdao. Qingdao, Shandong: Zhongguo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2016. 361-363.

170 Ibid

In 1954, Tsingtao Beer began to export to Hong Kong, and in 1956, the beer brand gained the highest market share in Hong Kong.<sup>171</sup> In 1963, the Ministry of Light Industry selected 18 famous beverages, and Tsingtao Beer was among them. Since the reform and opening up of China, Tsingtao Brewery has made significant progress.<sup>172</sup> Today, Tsingtao Brewery Group Co., Ltd. is China's largest beer manufacturer.

#### 4.4 Evaluation of Current Preservation

The Germania Brewery, which still exists, represents German industrial buildings. During the German colonial period, the German colonists sought to rebuild Qingdao into a military base and a trading hub. Therefore, two types of industrial buildings were generally constructed. First, industrial buildings were constructed Jiao Ji Railway or harbors and ports that handled merchandise, for example, Qingdao Sifang Locomotive Repair Factory, Qingdao Marine Division Factory, and Shandong Mining company.<sup>173</sup> Second, buildings were constructed that provided for daily life, for instance, Qingdao Power Plant, Abattoir of the German Administration, Qingdao Winery, and Germania Brewery.<sup>174</sup>

According to the "Interim Regulations on the Management of the Protection of Cultural Relics" (《文物保护单位暂行条例》), three values are considered when evaluating historical buildings and relics, which are "historical value, artistic value, and scientific value." Evaluating the brewery from the perspective of historical value demonstrates that it is a typical example of industrial heritage. Under the influence of a single colonial power, Qingdao city underwent rapid development. Qingdao also presents the history of modern China with a rare complex landscape of modernization, industrialization, and urbanization. As a full transplant from the Western culture, industrial heritage in Qingdao, such as Germania Brewery, are an integral part of the city's development.

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171 Wang Dong. Qing Dao Ying Xiang: Ming Xin Pian Zhong De Cheng Shi Ji Yi = Tsingtau Auf Der Alte Ansichtskarte. Qing dao: Zhong guo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2017. 294-298.

172 Jin, Zhiguo, and Shengqi Gong. 一杯沧海 -- 品读青岛啤酒博物馆 Yi Bei Cang Hai--Reading Qingdao Museum. Ji nan, Shandong: Shan dong you yi chu ban she, 2008. 150.

173 Xu, Feipeng. Qing Dao Li Shi Jian Zhu: 1891~1949 = The Historical Architecture in Qingdao. Qing dao, Shandong: Qing dao chu ban she, 2006.

174 Liu, Qing. "青岛工业遗产保护与利用刍议." Journal of Party School of C.P.C. Qingdao Municipal Committee, no. 9 (2009). 44-49.

In terms of artistic value, like most early German industrial buildings, the Germania Brewery buildings were two stories high with a basement, granite plinth, masonry and wooden structure and an attic under a sloping roof. Its architectural features fully embody the Western architectural and technical achievements, and it represents the aesthetic interest of the time. Furthermore, industrial buildings gradually became defining urban landscapes of Qingdao, which made it differ from traditional Chinese cities. As long as people live in a Western-style city, the aesthetic opinions about things might be different from those of people in other parts of China. Moreover, the influence also changed people's lifestyle and habits in their daily life.

In terms of technological value, the Germania Brewery contributed much regarding beer in Qingdao Industrial Development. The introduction of a beer culture, the construction of buildings, the commissioning of machinery, and the installation of equipment, the improvement of production tools, process design, and product renewal of manufacturing gave the brewery substantial scientific value. By preserving different levels of development of the industrial heritage can offer a relatively complete picture of industrial processes during a different time period.

In 2003, the Germania Brewery became Tsingtao Beer Museum and was regarded as a great example of the preservation of industrial heritage in Qingdao.<sup>175</sup> In 2006, the Germania Brewery was listed as among the "national key cultural relics protection units" (全国重点文物保护单位). In addition, in 2007, Qingdao Municipal Party Committee and Municipal Government proposed and implemented the urban development strategy of "Protection around the Bay and Development of the Bay."<sup>176</sup> The protection of Jiaozhou Bay, along with the relocation of many factories, turned out to be significant.<sup>177</sup> For the brewery, while it was counted as a national key unit and had already changed some sections into the museum exhibits, it was also faced with moving

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175 Binjiu, Yuan. *Qingdao Lao Jian Zhu Zhi lu* = A Tour of Historic Buildings in Qingdao. Qingdao, Shandong: Zhongguo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2016. 361-363.

176 Liu, Qing. "青岛工业遗产保护与利用刍议." *Journal of Party School of C.P.C. Qingdao Municipal Committee*, no. 9 (2009). 44-49.

177 Ibid



Figure 42. The exhibition in the Tsingdao Beer Museum showing the advertisements during 1930s.



Figure 43. The exhibition in the Tsingdao Beer Museum showing the production process and equipments.

most of its industrial operations to the further suburban areas rather than keeping them on the original site.

Currently, the Germania Brewery is well preserved with clearly interpreted historical and cultural values. The renovation replaced the brewery office building and dormitory building with new functions as history and culture exhibition areas, which are rich in artifacts and historical materials that illustrate the Germania Brewery's long history, the history of beer and information about Tsingtao Beer. (Figure 42) Thus, it avoids significant alteration of the historic buildings. Instead, only the interiors of these two buildings were renovated for the exhibitions. Furthermore, the original building used for hop saccharification





Figure 44. Current "B" office building and brewing plant with beer tanks on the roof.



Figure 45. The newly built office building and brewing plant following the German style.



Figure 46. Views of "Beer Street" outside the Tsingdao Beer Museum.

is correspondingly repurposed for the display of the production process, which highlights the historical buildings, old equipment, workshop environment, and production scenes of Tsingtao Beer. (Figure 43) The modern production process is set in a newly built steel-frame structure. However, it is coordinated with the historic buildings, except that it added beer tanks on the roof that resemble beer cans. (Figure 44) Contrary to the opinion that the new additions should form a contrast to the old, most designers preferred to retain the same German style to highlight the German colonial history of Qingdao. The design serves as storage and to attract tourists to come and visit the place. (Figure 45) Separated from other buildings along the "Beer Street," the Germania Brewery, with its German-style buildings, demonstrates that it is the only venue with the full history of Tsingtao Beer in Qingdao. (Figure 46)

As a thriving cultural and creative project, the museum completely preserves the production lines and workspaces for beer. A new production space was also integrated into the second half of the exhibition. Because of the renovation, the building may be one of the best-preserved examples in Qingdao of German colonial architecture. As beer-as a type of beverage-is closely related to Chinese "food culture", it is, therefore, easier for people to accept it even it originates in colonial culture. Moreover, during the shifts of different political powers, beer as a beverage is valued in various cultures. Thus, the brewery continued as a running concern without interference. The government needed beer for those living in Qingdao. The brand Tsingtao Beer became an icon for the city and an important representation of Chinese beer.

Figure 47. Qingdao Railway Station. Source: Qingdao Municipal Archives



Furthermore, the historic buildings in the brewery were well-preserved because the brewery is private property, so as a company, Tsingtao Beer needs to advertise the beer culture for their benefit. Moreover, as a cultural site, it would encourage more tourists to visit to cultivate an interest in the beer. Overall, the Germania Brewery accomplished the goal of preserving tangible and intangible cultural heritage and while developing the size of the enterprise.

## CENTRAL RAILWAY STATION

### 4.5 Analysis of Tsingtao Central Railway Station

On 1 June 1904, a railway from Qingdao to Jinan, the capital of Shandong Province, opened to traffic.<sup>178</sup> (Figure 47) Although the original destination of the railway was Jiaozhou, a small city 74 kilometers from Qingdao, later years proved that the railway brought far-reaching changes to the economy and lifestyle of Qingdao and Shandong Province.<sup>179</sup> As one of the most advanced

<sup>178</sup> Wang Dong. Qing Dao Ying Xiang: Ming Xin Pian Zhong De Cheng Shi Ji Yi = Tsingtau Auf Der Alte Ansichtskarte. Qing dao: Zhong guo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2017. 289-290.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid

transportation modes at the time, the affect of high-tech railways on ordinary people, who were accustomed to traditional modes of transportation, is beyond our imagination. Moreover, we have also found that this effect continues more than 100 years later.

Qingdao Railway Station is the eastern terminus of the Shandong Railway. It was situated about 200 meters northwest of the Qianhai Trestle Bridge.<sup>180</sup> The building is the focal point of several streets that radiate from the station square, and it originally formed the western end of the city. According to the Jiao'ao Development Memorandum (《胶澳发展备忘录》), the Germans initially considered building the station immediately adjacent to the Qianhai Trestle Bridge, but technical difficulties caused them to abandon the idea.

Construction of the Qingdao Railway Station was completed in 1901. It consists of a station building, a platform, and a square in front of the station. Baurath Hildebrand, the manager of the German Shandong Railway Company, designed the station.<sup>181</sup> The design of the façade of the station building is in the Neo-Renaissance style, supplemented by traditional Chinese architectural features.<sup>182</sup> The base of the station building is granite.<sup>183</sup> Three arches form the main entrance to the waiting hall on the first floor, and the second floor is divided by six equally spaced vertical windows.<sup>184</sup> Above the windows is a large gabled wall with an imitation wood structure. On the south side of the waiting hall, a clock tower reaches a height of about 30 meters.<sup>185</sup> The tower is shaped similar to that of a church in a European village. The top slope is steep and is covered with traditional Chinese yellow-green variegated glazed tiles.<sup>186</sup> Gables surround the roof on all sides, and they frame a mechanical clock made in Germany.<sup>187</sup> A

180 Wang Dong. Qing Dao Ying Xiang: Ming Xin Pian Zhong De Cheng Shi Ji Yi = Tsingtau Auf Der Alte Ansichtskarte. Qing dao: Zhong guo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2017. 289-290.

181 Li, Ming. Qingdao Guo Ke: Qingdao Zao Qi Cheng Shi Shi Shang De Deguo Ren = Deutsche in Der frü Hen Geschichte Der Stadt Tsingtau. Beijing Shi, Beijing: Xin xing chu ban she, 2018. 49-52.

182 Binjiu, Yuan. Qingdao Lao Jian Zhu Zhi lü = A Tour of Histroic Buildings in Qingdao. Qingdao, Shandong: Zhongguo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2016. 48-51.

183 Ibid

184 Wang Dong. Qing Dao Ying Xiang: Ming Xin Pian Zhong De Cheng Shi Ji Yi = Tsingtau Auf Der Alte Ansichtskarte. Qing dao: Zhong guo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2017. 289-290.

185 Ibid

186 Binjiu, Yuan. Qingdao Lao Jian Zhu Zhi lü = A Tour of Histroic Buildings in Qingdao. Qingdao, Shandong: Zhongguo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2016. 48-51.

187 Ibid



Figure 48. The platform of Qingdao Railway Station during German colonial period. Source: The Stories about Qingdao.



steel-framed shed, covered with sheet iron, was added behind the first platform on the west side of the station. (Figure 48) Outside the station is the station square, and the designer supplemented the setting with green seedlings to form a picturesque square garden. In addition to the Qingdao railway station that follows the German model, the other 63 stations of the Jiaoji Railway are built in a Chinese-Western style and use eave tiles and ridged roof tiles.<sup>188</sup>

The Germans also planned to build a station for Chinese visitors on the north side of town, at the western end of the Chinese living area of Dabao Island District. Later, the Dagang area was selected for construction of a larger-scale passenger station, and the design was started. However, the outbreak of the First World War and the subsequent Japanese war against Qingdao led to the suspension of the plan.<sup>189</sup>

In November 1914, Japanese Qingdao Defending Army Railway took control

<sup>188</sup> Binjiu, Yuan. *Qingdao Lao Jian Zhu Zhi lu* = A Tour of Historic Buildings in Qingdao. Qingdao, Shandong: Zhongguo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2016. 48-51.

<sup>189</sup> Wang Dong. *Qing Dao Ying Xiang: Ming Xin Pian Zhong De Cheng Shi Ji Yi* = Tsingtau Auf Der Alte Ansichtskarte. Qing dao: Zhong guo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2017. 289-290.

Figure 49. Qingdao Railway Station and Chiba Park in 1918. Source: Qingdao Municipal Archives.



of the Shandong Railway.<sup>190</sup> (Figure 49) In December 1922, the Chinese government accepted Qingdao's sovereignty.<sup>191</sup> According to the Shandong Railway Case Agreement on Shandong Suspended Cases (《山东悬案铁路细目协定》), which was reached between China and Japan, the Chinese government needed to contribute 40 million yuan to redeem Shandong Railway from the Japanese.<sup>192</sup> On 1 January 1923, China and Japan held a ceremony that transferred railway management power from Japanese Qingdao Defending Army Railway to Beiyang government, which led to the establishment of Jiaoji Railway Administration, which is fully responsible for railway management.<sup>193</sup> However, according to the provisions of the relevant agreement, the Chinese government had to yield to the Japanese assuming key positions, such as the head of the railway service and the head of the accounting department in railway management. Therefore, the management and financial power of the Jiaoji Railway remained in Japanese hands during the Beiyang rule.

During the 1960s, the People's Republic of China added an additional terminal

190 Wang Dong. Qing Dao Ying Xiang: Ming Xin Pian Zhong De Cheng Shi Ji Yi = Tsingtau Auf Der Alte Ansichtskarte. Qing dao: Zhong guo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2017. 289-290.

191 Ma, Ke. “德占时期以来青岛城市规划思想演变研究（1897-1949）Study on Tsingtau Urban Planning Ideology Since the Period Occupied by Germany (1897-1949).” Thesis, Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology, 200906. 18-19.

192 Wang Dong. Qing Dao Ying Xiang: Ming Xin Pian Zhong De Cheng Shi Ji Yi = Tsingtau Auf Der Alte Ansichtskarte. Qing dao: Zhong guo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2017. 289-290.

193 Ibid

Figure 50. Qingdao Railway Station in 1970s. Source: Wikimedia Commons contributors.



Figure 51. Qingdao Railway Station in 1991. Source: Wikimedia Commons contributors.



Figure 52. Qingdao Railway Station in 2019.



to the station. (Figure 50) In 1987, the railroad company began a major upgrade to the Qingdao Station.<sup>194</sup> In August 1991, the original station, which had stood for 90 years, was demolished.<sup>195</sup> The new station was reconstructed at 100 meters away from the original site.<sup>196</sup> (Figure 51) The new station was designed to precisely replicate the original one, except on a larger scale. A sizeable two-story passenger terminal was constructed on the north side of the original station, and the campanile was rebuilt in the original style on the south of the station site.

Due to the 2008 Olympic Games, the station experienced another upgrade in 2007.<sup>197</sup> (Figure 52) The new passenger terminal uses the campanile as the connection point, extending to the east, west, and south to form a U-shaped structure from the south to the north, which is predominantly a European-style architectural complex.<sup>198</sup> The style of the red tile inlaid on the beige marble exterior wall feels familiar to passengers and reminds them of the original station. The upgraded station buildings on the east, west, and south surround the newly built platforms in the middle.<sup>199</sup> Regardless of station building where the passenger is, they can easily reach the platform through the underground passage. The rain shelter constructed as a white net-shell steel structure created a large and bright space for passengers.<sup>200</sup> The platform is level with the door of the train so that passengers, especially the elderly, are able to walk directly from the platform onto the train without having to take a small step when embarking or disembarking the train.<sup>201</sup>

While the station has experienced several renovations and upgrades, its new structure cannot be regarded as the same as the original station in terms of

194 Wang Dong. *Qing Dao Ying Xiang: Ming Xin Pian Zhong De Cheng Shi Ji Yi* = Tsingtau Auf Der Alte Ansichtskarte. Qing dao: Zhong guo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2017. 289-290.

195 Binjiu, Yuan. *Qingdao Lao Jian Zhu Zhi lu* = A Tour of Historic Buildings in Qingdao. Qingdao, Shandong: Zhongguo hai yang da xue chu ban she, 2016. 48-52.

196 Ibid

197 Zheng, Yunjie. “青岛火车站改造.” *Qingdao Railway Station Renovation*” *Architectural Journal*, 200904, 32–36.

198 Ibid

199 Zhao, Yan. “新‘百年老站’ The Renovation of Qingdao’s ‘Hundred-Year-Old Railway Station’.” *Culture/Images of Qingdao*, 2007, 80–85.

200 Zheng, Yunjie. “青岛火车站改造.” *Qingdao Railway Station Renovation*” *Architectural Journal*, 200904, 32–36.

201 Ibid



content and design.

#### 4.6 Evaluation of Current Preservation

After a century of intense use, the old station was unable to accommodate the growing number of people, and it underwent renovation in 1991. The new campanile raised the height by three meters to match the proportion of the new terminal building.<sup>202</sup> In 1992, the railway station square was also renovated. By 8 August 1994, most of the underground construction of the railway station plaza was completed ahead of schedule.<sup>203</sup> As a result, the railway station was more functional and, at the same time, preserved its original look. The latest renovations and changes were undertaken to prepare for the 2008 Olympic Games. The railway station that witnessed the phenomenal development of the city is one of the major landmarks of Qingdao. Therefore, the renovation was significant for the upcoming Olympic Games. Its appearance retains the original German style, and the old campanile and passenger terminal have been replicated and expanded proportionally, which honors, in a way, the principle of "respect for history and restoration according to the original appearance."

According to the local news and people's feedback about the station, most people are satisfied with the renovated station.<sup>204</sup> When the government deliberated on how to renovate the railway station, people complained primarily about the delayed decision. In the news report, "Where is the problem? —— Qingdao Railway Station Reconstruction Project", written by Wei Zhongyong, he stated the following:

*It is acceptable if the government has to preserve the station, as long as the land is cleared and the design scheme is slightly modified, the construction can be started immediately. But no one in the urban area will sell the land since the land is very valuable . If the*

202 Zhao, Yan. "新 '百年老站' The Renovation of Qingdao's 'Hundred-Year-Old Railway Station' ." Culture/Images of Qingdao, 2007, 80–85.

203 Ibid

204 Meng, Wei, and Cong Gong. "新闻链接: 百年沧桑青岛站 News Link: Centennial Victory Qingdao Station." Broadcast. Qingdao News, January 6, 2007.

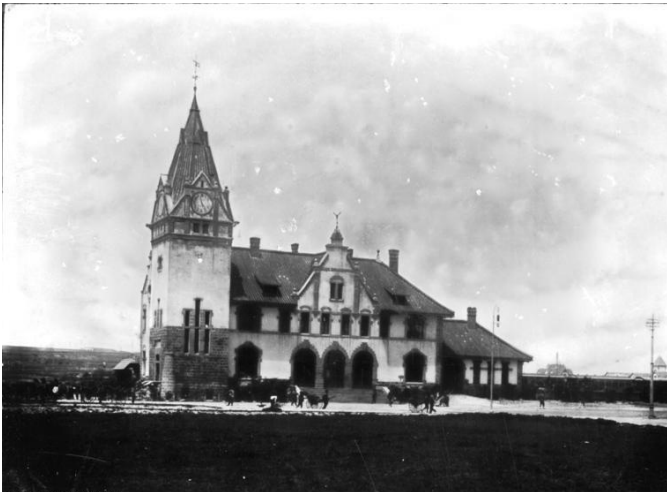


Figure 53. Left: Old Qingdao Railway Station. Right: Old Jinan Railway Station. Source: Wikimedia Commons contributors.

*old terminal is not torn down and the original plan is retained, it will obviously occupy the already small front square. Everyone is afraid of becoming a sinner in history, and the hesitation makes the decision even more difficult.*<sup>205</sup>

The government spent more than two years to finalize the decision to demolish the original building. Many people are not even aware that the station is not the original one, but the same one that relocated to the current place, which is 100 meters south from the original site.

According to Qingdao News on 6 January 2007, people supported the demolition and the replication of the original railway station because most buildings around the station, including the station itself, face possible collapse and disintegration of the structure.<sup>206</sup> Qingdao and Jinan stations as two termini of Jiaoji Railway, were both built around the 1900s by using wooden structures. (Figure 53) Therefore, people believed that it was unnecessary to spend that much money and time to preserve the original building. Moreover, even if it was decided to retain the original building, no one knew how long the building

205 Wei, Zhongyong. “难在哪儿? -- 青岛火车站改造工程质疑 Where Is the Problem? ——Qingdao Railway Station Reconstruction Project.” Qingdao Daily. June 18, 1989, sec. 2.

206 Meng, Wei, and Cong Gong. “新闻链接: 百年沧桑青岛站 News Link: Centennial Victory Qingdao Station.” Broadcast. Qingdao News, January 6, 2007.



Figure 54. Left: Current Qingdao Railway Station. Right: Current Jinan Railway Station. Source: right image is from Wikimedia Commons contributors.

would stand after that. Thus, the building would still need to be torn down and rebuilt. Furthermore, people admired the replication, because compared with Jinan railway station, which was constructed around the same time as Qingdao railway station, it was demolished entirely without being replicated. (Figure 54) Thus, the local people in Qingdao believe that the current station is a replica of the original station, and that it is still a messenger that can offer the information about the colonial history in Qingdao.

The locals appear to regard the artistic value of the Qingdao railway station as greater than its historical value. If the station, as an icon of the city, can retain its original looks, it can have the same value as the original building. However, as a public building, it is a misguided to consider only the appearance of the building. The collective memory and the building technology at the time can all be elements that crumbled with the demolition of the old railway station. How to memorize the origin of the local railway industry is a central topic for the current preservation of the Qingdao railway station and even in the future.

## 05 CONCLUSIONS

The analysis presented in previous chapters have answered the initial research questions:

- What does German colonial history mean to the local community in Qingdao? As a nationality, are there any benefits or disadvantages gained from colonial history?
- Even though there are many well preserved German colonial buildings, does that mean the local people are proud or happy with these buildings? If not, then why do the local citizens continue to protect these structures?
- Other colonial periods followed the German colonial era. How did those colonial powers react to what remained of the German period? Did they think these buildings were useful or not? What standards did they use to preserve these buildings? Did they have an impact on the local community about how to preserve these buildings? Based on all these questions, what might be the proper way of preserving colonial architecture now and in the future?

Through the chronological study of Qingdao as a German colony, German colonial architectural transformations and the case studies of Changzhou Road Prison Complex, Germania Brewery, and Qingdao Railway Station, this thesis has demonstrated that the German colonial architecture is treated in various ways depending on its attribute, usage, and cultural significance. The various treatment reflects people's attitudes toward German colonial architecture, which provide this thesis a perspective to rethink about colonial architecture and



preservation of them.

**a) Changzhou Road Prison Complex**

The Qingdao Prison (currently called the Changzhou Road Prison), built by the German Governor's Office in 1900, was initially used to hold European prisoners sentenced to imprisonment or detained as guilty. It was the earliest permanent administrative building in Qingdao after November 1897. From the interior pictures, it is clear that based on the preservation idea "restoring the old as the old," the building itself is well preserved. However, as a German-built prison, the building now worked more as a patriotic education base than a prison museum. The exhibitions there pay more attention to the history of the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression than the other histories related to the prison. With dummies in the cells shows the location where martyrs against the Japanese die, the exhibitions only show the partial history of the prison. The failure of the interpretation might be caused by the separation of European prisoners and Chinese prisoners during the German colonial period. Furthermore, in Chinese culture, prison is an ominous place similar to a cemetery that related to the death of people. Therefore, if there is nothing highly attract people, Chinese tourists usually would not visit a prison museum in purpose.

**b) Germania Brewery**

The Germania Brewery first opened in 1903 and originally built to provide beers for German soldiers nearby. In 1916, the Japanese invaded Qingdao and turned the brewery into Dainippon ale Qingdao Factory. In 2003, the Germania Brewery became Tsingtao Beer Museum and was considered a great example of the preservation of industrial heritage in Qingdao. According to the current situation, the Germania Brewery is well preserved with clearly interpreted historical and cultural values. The reason might be that beer as a type of beverage is highly related to Chinese "food culture." Therefore, it is easier for people to accept it even it comes from the colonial culture. Secondly, during the shifts of different political powers, beer as a beverage is valued under

various cultures. Thus, the brewery was kept running as a company without interference. All governments needed beer for people living in Qingdao. The brand Tsingtao Beer became an icon for the city and an essential representation of Chinese beer.

### **c) Qingdao Railway Station**

Construction of the Qingdao Railway Station was completed in 1901. The building is the focal point of several streets radiating from the station square, and originally formed the western end of the city. The station did not entirely change until 1987. In 1987, the railroad company started a significant upgrade to the Qingdao Station. In August 1991, the original station was demolished, and the new replication was built 100 meters south of the original site and extend based on the same ratio. Influenced by the opinion "restoring the old as the old," people think the station should still remain the original look. Besides, people feel admired about the replication, because compared with Jinan railway station, which was also built around the same time with Qingdao railway station, it was demolished entirely without even rebuilt a replication. However, as a public building, it is a problem only to consider the appearance as the representation of the building. The collective memory and the building technology at the time can all be elements that missed along with the demolition of the old railway station.

### **1. The changing attitudes toward colonial history in Qingdao**

During the German colonial period, the colonizers tried to import their own living habits and cultural preferences in the hometown of others. Therefore, different from traditional Chinese cities, Qingdao has its own identity based on the urban style, architectural form, and sanitation system that left by the Germans.

Generally, people are more accepting of German colonial history than Japanese colonial history.<sup>207</sup> The reason is that when Germans were ruling Qingdao,

207 Xiaolei, Qu. "屈辱与认同之间：清末民初国人眼中的德国形象——以胶澳租借地为中心 Between Humiliation and Identification: German Image in the Eyes of the Chinese at the End of the Qing Dynasty and the Beginning of the Republic of China——Taking Jiao'ao as an Example." *Social Science Journal*, no. 5 (2010): 156–63.

they were thinking about building Qingdao as an example of their colonies. Therefore, different from other colonies, in which the government was trying to extinct benefits from the colony, the German government was investing almost half of their annual fiscal spending in Qingdao.<sup>208</sup> Aside from paying money on constructing the city, the way of having different laws for ruling Europeans and Chinese people is another significant point. The separation of Europeans and Chinese people at the very beginning was criticized a lot, however, because of this ruling system, it helped to keep the traditional Chinese social structure and the traditional law system. Therefore, the German government would not interfere with Chinese communities unless there were problems related to Europeans. This policy let the lower class Chinese people have more freedom based on what they were already familiar with.

Moreover, when the Germans were ruling Qingdao, they created many work opportunities to encourage Chinese workers to come to Qingdao. It is a similar situation for trading in Qingdao. The German merchants would prefer to have a Chinese intermediary agent to connect to trading opportunities. The Chinese agents could get brokerage for these trading opportunities.<sup>209</sup>

During the Japanese colonial period, Japanese colonizers were more focused on taking benefits from their colonies rather than giving any advantages to their colonies. Unlike German merchants, instead of having Chinese intermediary agents, Japanese people prefer to connect companies directly by themselves.<sup>210</sup> Thus, the local Chinese agents lost many opportunities to have their brokerage from Japanese merchants. This phenomenon led to a bad word of mouth about Japanese people and Japanese colonial history. With such comparison, the Germans and the German colonial history in Qingdao are more acceptable than the Japanese colonial history for local people in Qingdao.

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208 Xiaolei, Qu. “屈辱与认同之间：清末民初国人眼中的德国形象——以胶澳租借地为中心 Between Humiliation and Identification: German Image in the Eyes of the Chinese at the End of the Qing Dynasty and the Beginning of the Republic of China—Taking Jiao’ao as an Example.” *Social Science Journal*, no. 5 (2010): 156–63.

209 Ibid

210 Ibid

Figure 55. Current St. Paul's Church.



## 2. Reflection of colonial history in Qingdao

Due to the different functions of the building, people preserve the building differently. Comparing with German colonial architecture, there are much fewer buildings left in Qingdao from the Japanese colonial period. As a reflection of colonial history, the preservation of colonial architecture is the evidence of the acceptance.

Starting from 1922, since the Beiyang government took over control of Qingdao, many Chinese architects studied in America went back to Qingdao after their graduation. Influenced by German culture and what these architects learned from American universities, they kept designing a lot of European style buildings after the German colonial period, which led to the current European appearance of Qingdao. During the same time, the Russian Empire was also experiencing the revolution and turning into the Soviet Union. Therefore, there were many Russian architects came to Qingdao. These architects designed a lot of buildings in Badaguan and the city center during the German colonial period. Due to the effect of German culture, when asking local people today about some buildings designed by Russian architects, people still think German architects designed these buildings. One example is St. Paul's Church that was designed by Russian architect Wladimir Yourieff and Danish architect Johannes PripMoller.<sup>211</sup> (Figure 55) Even local people know the church was built after the

<sup>211</sup> The information is based on the introduction plaque at the St. Paul's Church.



German colonial period, but from the shape of the dome and the Lombard band in the church, people still believe the German architect designed this building during the German colonial time.

### 3. Attitudes toward German colonial architecture in Qingdao

"Although we are not proud of the buildings left by the Japanese-Russian colonial period, these buildings carry the history of our people in Dalian," wrote Wu Jiayu in his article "About 'Spatial Colonialism'" (《论空间殖民主义》).<sup>212</sup> It is a similar attitude for local people in Qingdao with all of the colonial buildings, culture, and changes imposed on Qingdao, even if people at the time did not want to accept the implantations, there was no choice for them. Given that, the colonial history in Qingdao is actually created by both the colonizers and Chinese people. Therefore, within the colonial history, there are also attributes from Chinese people. The history of Qingdao also means the history that takes place in Qingdao.

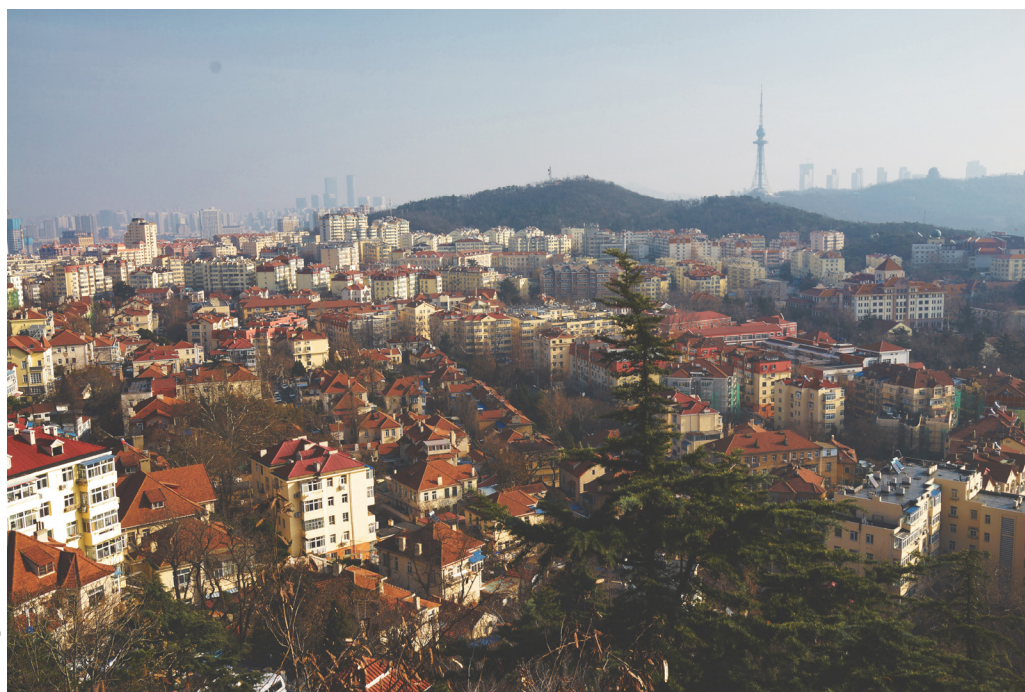
As the representation of German colonial history, the German colonial architecture in Qingdao became an icon of the city. During different colonial periods, the governments preferred to reuse the buildings left by Germans since most of them were built for public use. In addition, the overall city is still using the German-style red roof as its main characteristic to highlight the unique characters of the place. In the early 21st Century, in the purpose of preparing the 2008 Olympic Games, the whole of China started the "Re-roofing Project" (平改坡工程).<sup>213</sup> Following the requirements, the Qingdao government started the project as well, which is more familiar with the name "Red Roof Project" (红顶工程). (Figure 56) In the document "Re-roofing Project in Qingdao" (《青岛市的平改坡工程》), it mentioned that:

*Before the reform and opening up of China, due to the economic condition, few aesthetic requirements*

212 Wu, Jiahua. "论 '空间殖民主义' About 'Space Colonialism.'" The Journal of Architecture, no. 1 (1995).

213 Zhong He. "The Origin of Red Tiles." The Origin of Red Tiles. Qingdao, Shandong: Qingdao Shufang, 2016.

Figure 56. Current Qingdao view.



*were imposed on buildings, and Qingdao's overall planning and urban characteristics were not considered. Especially in the 1960s and 1970s, Qingdao built a large number of flat roof buildings, which is hugely disproportionate to the traditional architectural style of Qingdao.*<sup>214</sup>

Since then, Qingdao keeps to use German style as its main characteristics and using the preservation principle "respecting the historical appearance and focusing on the protection of cultural relics" (修旧如旧) for the local colonial buildings. However, the strategy did affect the choice of preservation, and several replications show up. Moreover, due to the increasing population and social change, some colonial buildings are facing to the demolishing or relocation, which makes the replications necessary during the process of preservation. By merely coordinating with existing "German-style", it oriented to a question of whether it is enough only to preserve the appearance of the building except for other values within the building.

214 Zhong He. "The Origin of Red Tiles." The Origin of Red Tiles. Qingdao, Shandong: Qingdao Shufang, 2016.

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馆为例 Initial Study on Prison Tourism.” *Journal of Zhengzhou Institute of Aeronautical Industry Management* 26, no. 2 (January 22, 2008).

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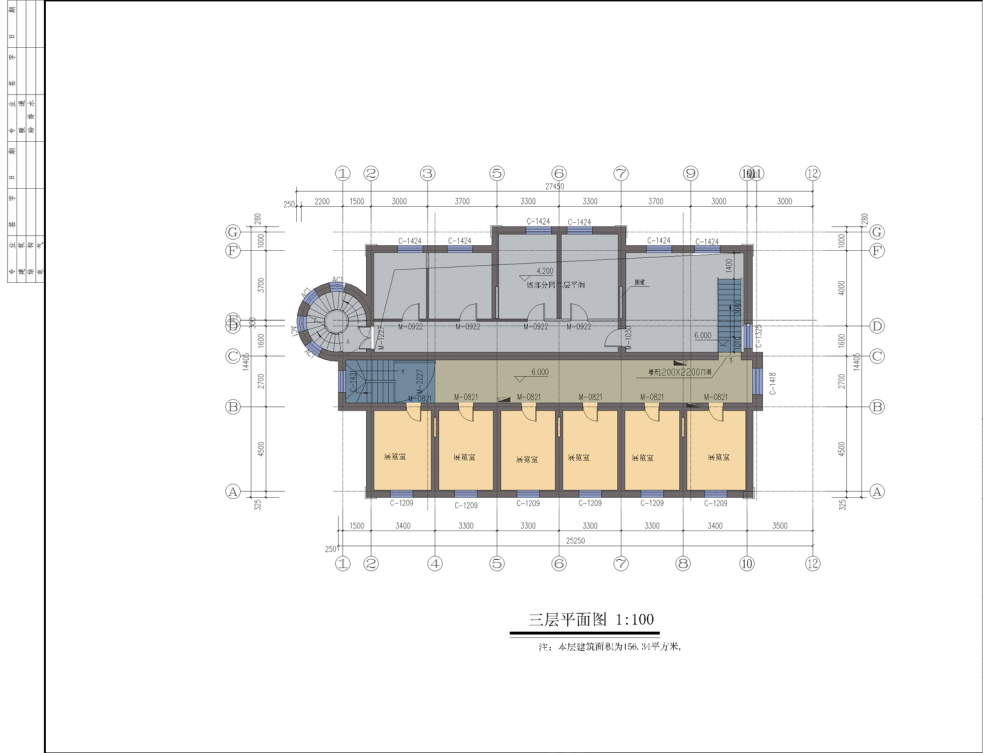
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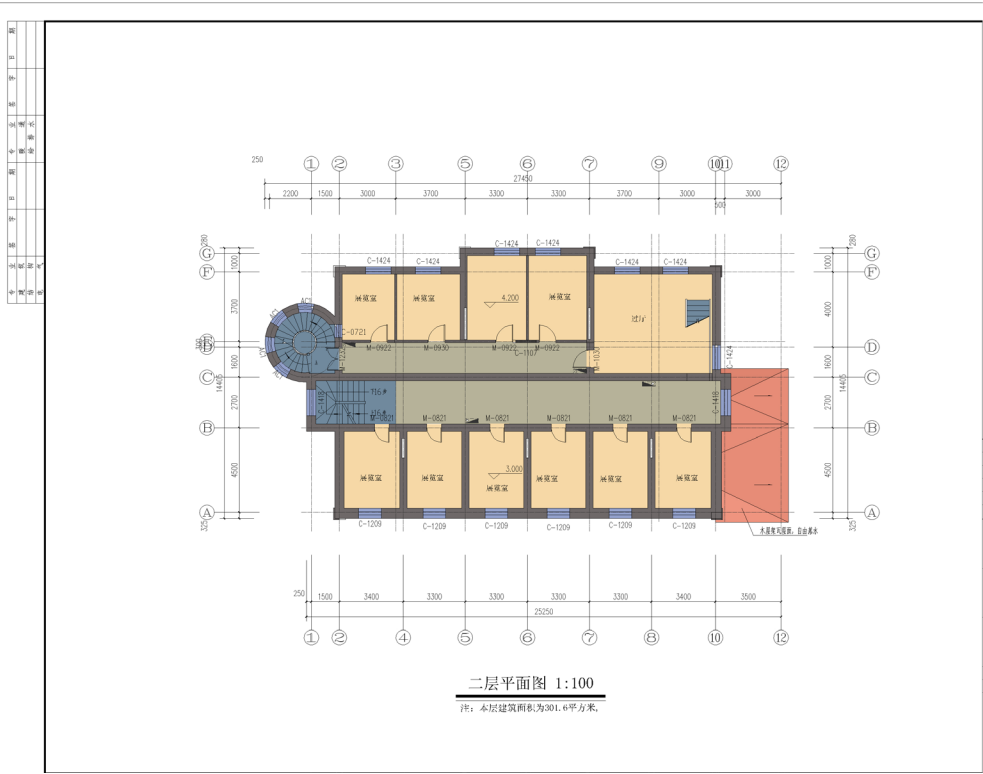
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## Basement Plan



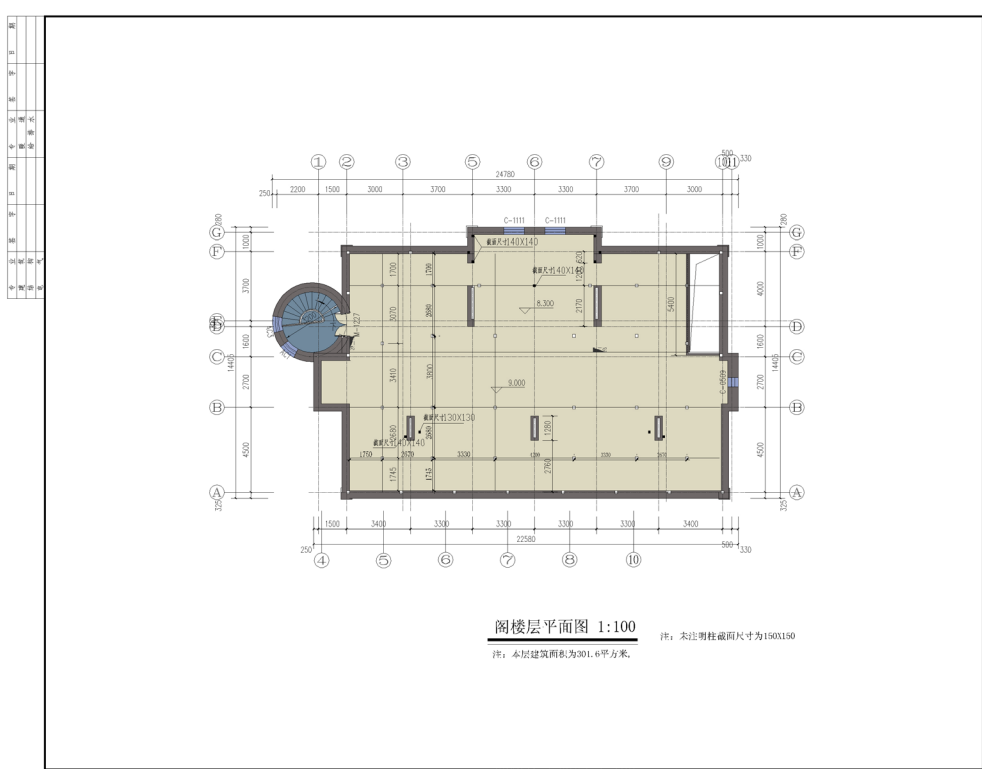


Third Floor Plan

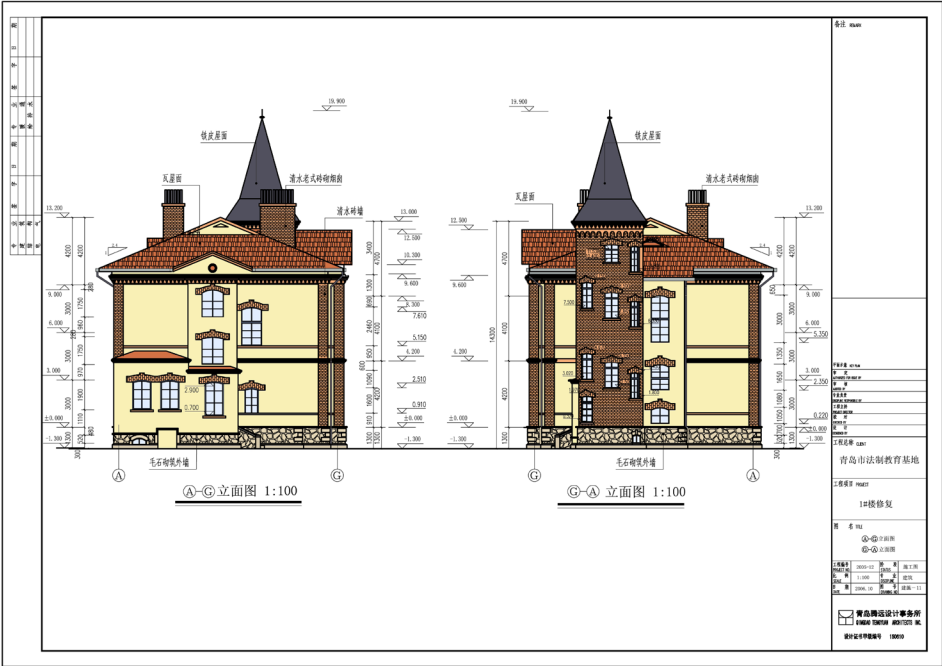


Second Floor Plan

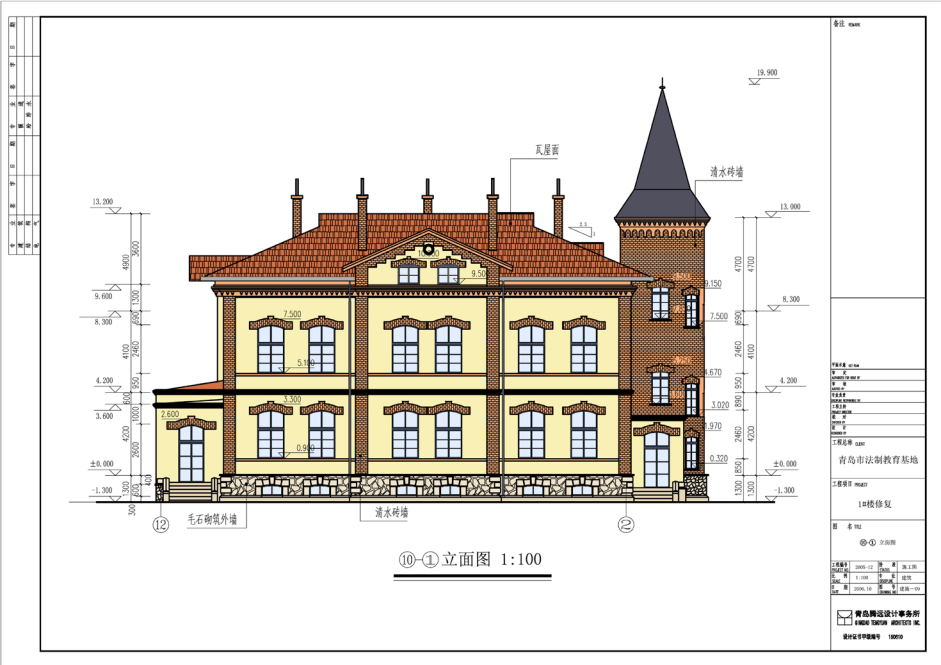




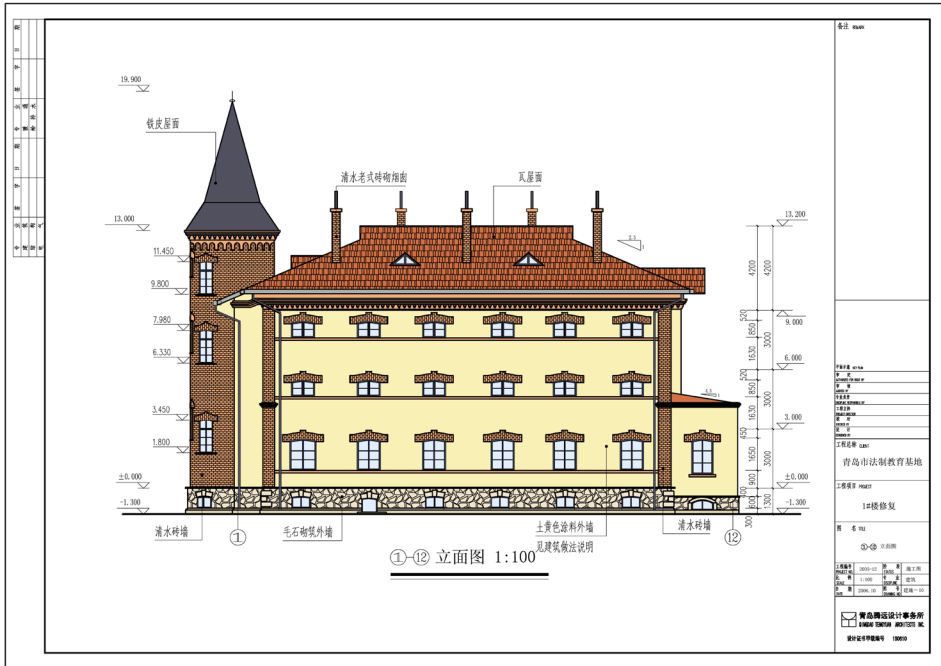
Loft Plan



Left: East Elevation  
Right: West Elevation

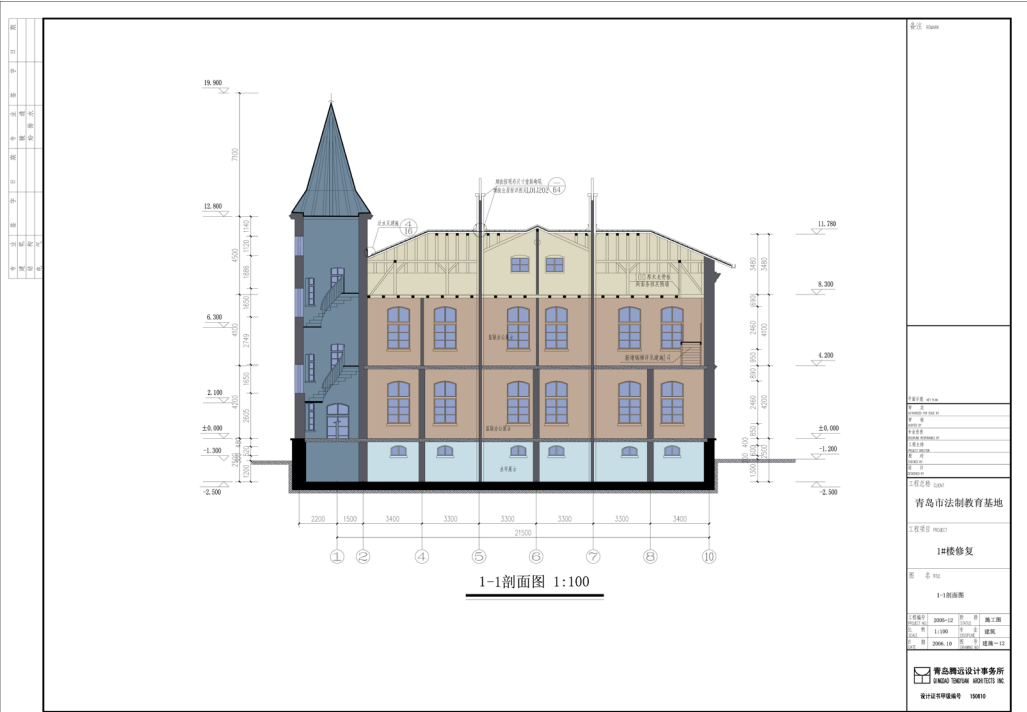


North Elevation

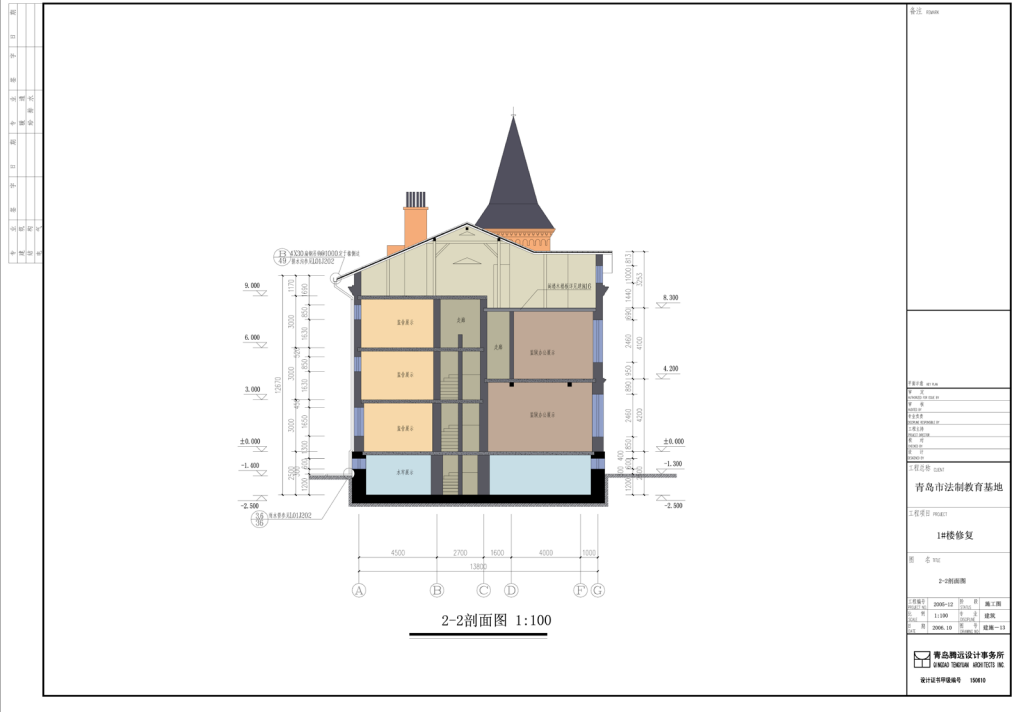


South Elevation

North-South Section



East-West Section



# Archival Study:

## Qingdao Street Name (1898-1922) (Organized and translated by author)

| German                    | Japanese   | Chinese | English        | Notes                             |
|---------------------------|------------|---------|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| Albert Str.               | 大村町        | 安徽路     | An'hui Str.    |                                   |
| Alila Str.                | 有明町        | 龙口路     | Longkou Str.   | South part is Yushan Str.         |
| Auguste Viktoria Ufer (E) | 曙町 (忠海町)   | 海阳路     | Haiyang Str.   | Another part is Juxian Str. (莒县路) |
| Auguste Viktoria Ufer (W) | 旅順町        | 莱阳路     | Laiyang Str.   |                                   |
| Bahnhof Str.              | 停車場通 (廣島町) | 广州路     | Guangzhou Str. | Another part is Kilowatt Str.     |
| Berg Str. (E)             |            | 京山路     | Jingshan Str.  |                                   |
| Berg Str. (W)             |            | 齐河路     | Qihe Str.      |                                   |
| Berliner Str.             | 麻布町        | 曲阜路     | Qufu Str.      |                                   |
| Bischof Str.              |            | 博山路     | Boshan Str.    |                                   |
| Bismarck Str.             | 万年町        | 江苏路     | Jiangsu Str.   |                                   |
| Bremer Str.               | 馬関町        | 肥城路     | Feicheng Str.  |                                   |
| Bülow Str.                | 熊本町        | 日照路     | Rizhao Str.    |                                   |
| Christ weg                | 逢坂町        | 福山路     | Fushan Str.    |                                   |
| Cormoran Str.             | 輕藻町        | 甘肃路     | Gansu Str.     |                                   |
| Danziger Str.             | 大阪町        | 泗水路     | Sishui Str.    |                                   |
| Deutschland Str. (S)      | 大和町一丁目     | 热河路     | Rehe Str.      |                                   |
| Deutschland Str. (N)      | 大和町一丁目     | 绥远路     | Suiyuan Str.   | Turned into Baotou Str. in 1954   |
| Diederichs weg            | 赤羽町        | 沂水路     | Yishui Str.    |                                   |
| Elisabeth weg             | 小倉通        | 齐东路     | Qidong Str.    |                                   |
| Fahr Str.                 |            | 龙山路     | Longshan Str.  |                                   |
| Fischerweg                |            |         |                |                                   |



|                             |               |      |                 |                         |
|-----------------------------|---------------|------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| Franzius Str.               | 薄雲町           | 莱州路  | Laizhou Str.    | South part<br>Not exist |
| Frauenlob Str.              | 青柳町           | 青城路  | Qingcheng Str.  |                         |
| Friedrich Str.              | 靜岡町           | 中山路  | Zhongshan Str.  |                         |
| Fuchs weg                   |               | 陵县支路 | Lingxian Branch |                         |
| Geier Str.                  |               |      |                 |                         |
| Gratpass weg                |               |      |                 | Not exist               |
| Gromsch Str.                | 三日月町          | 宝山路  | Baoshan Str.    | South part              |
| Haipo Str.                  | 海泊町           | 海泊路  | Haibo Str.      |                         |
| Hamburger Str.              | 深山町           | 河南路  | Henan Str.      |                         |
| Hansa Str.                  | 堺町            | 长山路  | Changshan Str.  |                         |
| Hauptmann                   | 艮通 (巽通)       | 登州路  | Dengzhou Str.   |                         |
| Müller Str.<br>(W)          |               |      |                 |                         |
| Hauptmann                   | 隆運町           | 威海路  | Weihai Str.     |                         |
| Müller Str.<br>(E)          |               |      |                 |                         |
| Hertha Str. (N)             | 三條町           | 商河路  | Shanghe Str.    | North part<br>West part |
| H o h e n l o h e<br>weg    | 治德町           | 德县路  | Dexian Str.     |                         |
| Hohenzollern<br>Str. (E)    | 姬路町           | 兰山路  | Lanshan Str.    |                         |
| Hohenzollern<br>Str. (W)    | 吳町            | 兰山路  | Lanshan Str.    |                         |
| Homann weg                  |               | 岙山路  | Zuoshan Str.    |                         |
| Honan Str.                  | 河南町           | 河南路  | Henan Str.      |                         |
| H o h e n l a g e r<br>Str. | 橋立町           | 东平路  | Dongping Str.   |                         |
| Hsiaupautau<br>Str.         | 小鮑島町<br>(三笠町) | 黄台路  | Huangtai Str.   |                         |
| Huangtau Str.               | 黄島町           | 黄島路  | Huangdao Str.   |                         |
| Iltispass Str.              | 旭町            | 文登路  | Wendeng Str.    |                         |
| Irene Str.                  | 久留米町          | 湖南路  | Hunan Str.      |                         |
| Itschou Str.                | 沂州町           | 易州路  | Yizhou Str.     |                         |
| Jaguar Str.                 | 瀬戸町           | 乐陵路  | Laoling Str.    |                         |

|                             |         |      |                       |  |
|-----------------------------|---------|------|-----------------------|--|
| Johann<br>Albrecht<br>Str.  | 豊橋町     | 九水路  | Jiushui Str.          |  |
| Johann<br>Albrecht<br>weg   | 霞夕関通    | 莱芜路  | Laiwu Str.            |  |
| Kaiser Str. (N)             | 葉桜町     | 馆陶路  | Guantao Str.          |  |
| Kaiser Str. (S)             | 所澤町     | 堂邑路  | Tangyi Str.           |  |
| Kaiserin<br>Augusta<br>Str. | 花咲町     | 武定路  | Wuding Str.           |  |
| Kaiser<br>Wilhelm<br>Ufer   | 舞鶴濱 (町) | 太平路  | Taiping Str.          |  |
| Kanton Str.                 | 廣東町     | 广东路  | Guangdong<br>Str.     |  |
| Kaumi Str.                  | 高密町     | 高密路  | Gaomi Str.            |  |
| Kiautschou Str.             | 膠州町     | 胶州路  | Jiaozhou Str.         |  |
| Kieler Str.                 | 横須賀町    | 泰安路  | Tai'an Str.           |  |
| Kilowatt Str.               | 廣島町     | 广州路  | Guangzhou Str.        | Another part of<br>Bahnhor<br>Str.                       |
| Kirschen Allee              | 桜大路     | 公园路  | Gongyuan Str.         |  |
| Kleiner Hafen<br>weg        | 小港一丁目   | 小港一路 | Xiaogang No.1<br>Str. |  |
| Kleiner Hafen<br>weg        | 小港二丁目   | 小港二路 | Xiaogang No.2<br>Str. |  |
| Kronprinzen<br>Str.         | 濱松町     | 湖北路  | Hubei Str.            |  |
| Kraehen weg                 |         | 上清路  | Shangqing Str.        |  |
| Lauschan Str.               | 大村町 (北) |      |                       | Combined<br>with 大村<br>町 during<br>Japanese<br>Rule time |

|                       |           |          |                   |   |
|-----------------------|-----------|----------|-------------------|---|
| Lazarett weg          | 病院通 (鞍馬町) | 平原路      | Pingyuan Str.     |   |
| Lerche weg            | 豊年町       | 牟平路      | Muping Str.       |   |
| Litsun Str.           | 李村町       | 李村路      | Licun Str.        |   |
| Lübecker Str.         | 比治山町      | 新泰路      | Xintai Str.       |   |
| Luchs Str.            | 喜楽町       | 泰山路      | Taishan Str.      |   |
| Luitpold Str.         | 高瀬町       | 浙江路      | Zhejiang Str.     |   |
| Major Müller Str.     |           | 小阳路      | Xiaoyang Str.     | Turned into Renmin Str. in 1967             |
| Münchener Str.        | 英町        | 蒙阴路      | Mengyin Str.      |   |
| Ningpo Str.           | 寧波町       | 宁波路      | Ningbo Str.       |   |
| Ostlager Str. (E)     |           |          |                   | Combined with 佐賀町 during Japanese Rule time |
| Ostlager Str. (W)     |           | 黄县路      | Huangxian Str.    |   |
| Ostpass Str.          |           | 东山通 (巽通) | University Str.   | Another Chinese name is 大学路                 |
| Park Str.             |           | 王村路      | Wangcun Str.      |   |
| Pauting Str.          | 保定町       | 保定路      | Baoding Str.      |   |
| Peking Str.           | 北京町       | 北京路      | Beijing Str.      |   |
| Pingtu Str.           | 平度町       | 平度路      | PIngdu Str.       |   |
| Poschan Str.          | 白山町       | 博山路      | Boshan Str.       |   |
| Prinz Waldemar Str.   | 八幡町       | 观海一路     | Guanhai No.1 Str. |   |
| Prinz Adalbert Str.   | 相見町       | 栖霞路      | Qixia Str.        |   |
| Prinzess-Wilhelm-Str. | 若葉町       | 陵县路      | Lingxian Str.     |   |

|                     |             |     |                |   |
|---------------------|-------------|-----|----------------|---|
| Prinz-Heinrich Str. | 佐賀町         | 广西路 | Guangxi Str.   |   |
| Rechtern Str. (N)   | 早舟町         | 新疆路 | Xinjiang Str.  |   |
| Rechtern Str. (S)   | 早霧町         | 冠县路 | Guanxian Str.  |   |
| Rennbahn Str.       |             | 文登路 | Wendeng Str.   |   |
| Richthofen Str.     |             | 明水路 | Mingshui Str.  |   |
| Rollmann Str.       | 野山町         | 莘县路 | Shenxian Str.  |   |
| Schanhai Str.       | 上海町         | 上海路 | Shanghai Str.  |   |
| Schantung Str.      | 山東町         | 中山路 | Zhongshan Str. | North part                                  |
| Schansi Str.        | 陝西町         | 陝西路 | Shanxi Str.    |   |
| Schlacht Hof Str.   | 松島町         | 观城路 | Guancheng Str. |   |
| Silberfisch Str.    | 椎楠町         | 宁阳路 | Ningyang Str.  |   |
| Seeadler Str.       | 隼町          | 桓台路 | Huantai Str.   |   |
| Syfang Str.         | 四方町         | 四方路 | Sifang Str.    |   |
| Taihsitschen Str.   | 台西鎮街通       | 云南路 | Yunnan Str.    |   |
| Taitungtschen Str.  | 北通 (若鶴町一丁目) | 辽宁路 | Liaoning Str.  | Known as 奉天路 before 1929                    |
| Taitungtschen Str.  | 若鶴町二丁目      | 辽宁路 | Liaoning Str.  | Known as 奉天路 before 1929                    |
| Taku Str.           | 大沽町         | 大沽路 | Dagu Str.      | Combined with 三條町 during Japanese Rule time |
| Thetis Str.         | 弓張町         | 铁山路 | Tieshan Str.   |   |
| Tiger Str.          |             |     |                |   |
| Tientsin Str.       | 天津町         | 天津路 | Tianjin Str.   |   |



|   |                                 |  |   |   |
|---|---------------------------------|--|---|---|
| Tirpitz Str.  | 曙町 (忠海町)                        | 莒县路                                    | Juxian Str.   | Another part<br>is Haiyang<br>Str. (海阳<br>路)    |
| Tsangkou Str.<br>Tschan schan<br>Str.   | 滄口町<br>湛山町                      | 沧口路<br>湛山路                             | Cangkou Str.<br>Zhanshan Str.   | Turned into<br>Hong Kong<br>Str. (W) in<br>1997 |
| Tschili Str.<br>Tschifu Str.<br>Tsimo Str.<br>Tsinan Str.<br>Tsining Str.<br>Uhu weg                    | 直隸町<br>芝罘町<br>即墨町<br>濟南町<br>濟寧町 | 河北路<br>芝罘路<br>即墨路<br>济南路<br>济宁路<br>西山路 | Hebei Str.<br>Zhifu Str.<br>Jimo Str.<br>Jinan Str.<br>Jining Str.<br>Xishan Str. | Turned into<br>Yan'an<br>No.1 Str. in<br>1951   |
| Vering Str.<br>Weihsien Str.<br>Wilhelm Str.<br>Wilhelmshave<br>-ner Str.<br>Wusung Str.<br>Yintau Str. | 松根町<br>濰縣町<br>不入斗町<br>佐世保町      | 恩县路<br>潍县路<br>青岛路<br>郯城路               | Enxian Str.<br>Weixian Str.<br>Qingdao Str.<br>Tancheng Str.                      |   |
|   | 吳淞町                             | 吴淞路<br>平度路                             | Wusong Str.<br>Pingdu Str.  | South part<br>Not exist                         |
|   | 辨天町                             |  |   |   |
|   | 朝陽町 (新高<br>町)                   | 朝阳路                                    | Chaoyang Str.   | Cancelled in<br>2007                            |
|   | 長安町 (敷島<br>町)                   | 长安路                                    | Chang'an Str.   | Cancelled in<br>2007                            |
|   | 常平町                             | 昌平路                                    | Changping Str.  | Cancelled in<br>1999                            |
|   | 長興町                             | 长兴路                                    | Changxing Str.  | Cancelled in<br>2000                            |
|   | 承平町                             | 昆明路                                    | Kunming Str.  | Cancelled in<br>2000                            |

|               |                |                     |                      |
|---------------|----------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| 川崎町           | 益都路            | Yidu Str.           | Cancelled in<br>2002 |
| 菜市町           | 菜市一路 (菜<br>市路) | Caishi No.1<br>Str. |                      |
| 大黒町           | 招远路            | Zhaoyuan Str.       |                      |
| 大川町 (北)       | 昌乐路            | Changle Str.        |                      |
| 大川町 (南)       | 宁海路            | Ninghai Str.        |                      |
| 大島町           | 周村路            | Zhoucun Str.        |                      |
| 大森町           | 博兴路            | Boxing Str.         |                      |
| 大名町 (太平<br>町) | 大名路            | Daming Str.         |                      |
| 大成町           | 大成路            | Dacheng Str.        |                      |
| 丹鷹町 (丹凤<br>町) | 丹阳路            | Danyang Str.        | Cancelled in<br>1999 |
| 淡路町           | 邹平路            | Zouping Str.        | Cancelled in<br>2002 |
| 稻禾町           | 道口路            | Daokou Str.         |                      |
| 德盛町           | 德盛路            | Desheng Str.        |                      |
| 伏見町           | 福建路            | Fujian Str.         | Cancelled in<br>2009 |
| 伏波町 (三笠<br>町) | 邱县路            | Qiuxian Str.        | Cancelled in<br>2007 |
| 富士町           | 城阳路            | Chengyang Str.      |                      |
| 福寺町           | 福寺路            | Fusi Str.           | Cancelled in<br>2002 |
| 芙蓉町           | 芙蓉路            | Furong Str.         |                      |
| 豊盛町           | 丰盛路            | Fengsheng Str.      |                      |
| 和興町           | 和兴路            | Hexing Str.         |                      |
| 惠比須町          | 东阿路            | Dong'e Str.         |                      |
| 惠比壽町          |                |                     | Not exist            |
| 魁町            |                |                     | Not exist            |
| 惠民町 (鞍馬<br>町) | 惠民路            | Huimin Str.         |                      |
| 隆興町 (霧島<br>町) | 平阴路            | Pingyin Str.        | Cancelled in<br>2002 |
| 老松町           | 寿光路            | Shouguang Str.      |                      |

|           |           |                                   |   |
|-----------|-----------|-----------------------------------|---|
| 利興町       | 历城路       | Licheng Str.                      | Cancelled in 1999                             |
| 利根町       | 阳信路       | Yangxin Str.                      | Another part is Baotou Str. (包头路)             |
| 琉球町 (宮前町) | 章邱路       | Zhangqiu Str.                     |   |
| 宮島町       | 朝城路       | Chaocheng Str.                    | Cancelled in 2007                             |
| 金郷町 (棒呂町) | 金乡路       | Jinxiang Str.                     |   |
| 京町        | 诸城路       | Zhucheng Str.                     | Changed into Chengkou Str. (埕口路)<br>Not exist |
| 吉野町       | 郭口路       | Guokou Str.                       |   |
| 江戸町       | 宝庆路       | Baoqing Str.                      |   |
| 駿河町       |           |                                   |   |
| 菊川町       | 邹县路       | Zouxian Str.                      | Not exist                                     |
| 高砂町       | 利津路       | Lijin Str.                        |   |
| 柳川町       | 汶上路       | Wenshang Str.                     |   |
| 彌生町       | 华阳路       | Huayang Str.                      |   |
| 鳴海町       | 四川路       | Sichuan Str.                      |   |
| 梅町        | 定陶路       | Dingtao Str.                      |   |
| 奈良町       | 临清路南段     | Linqing Str. (S)                  |   |
| 品川町       | 青海路       | Qinghai Str.                      |   |
| 蓬萊町       | 滨县路       | Binxian Str.                      |   |
| 千島町       | 高苑路       | Gaoyuan Str.                      |   |
| 千歳町       | 曹县路       | Caoxian Str.                      |   |
| 千葉町       | 观象一路、观象二路 | Guanxiang No.1 &2 Str.            |   |
| 清和町       | 清和路       | Qinghe Str.                       |   |
| 慶祥町       | 庆祥路       | Qingxiang Str.                    |   |
| 青羽町       | 金乡东路或惠民南路 | Jinxiang Str. (E)/ Huimin St. (S) |   |

|          |      |                    |   |
|----------|------|--------------------|---|
| 瑞雲町      | 瑞云路  | Ruiyun Str.        | Cancelled in 1999   |
| 坪井町      | 平定路  | Pingding Str.      | Cancelled in 2000   |
| 榮久町      | 昌邑路  | Changyi Str.       | Combined with Baotou Str. (包头路)<br><br>Another part is Zhangqiu Str. (章邱路)<br><br>Another Chinese name is 桑梓路 |
| 人和町      | 人和路  | Renhe Str.         |   |
| 市場町一丁目   | 市场一路 | Shichang No.1 Str. |   |
| 市場町二丁目   | 市场二路 | Shichang No.2 Str. |   |
| 市場町三丁目   | 市场三路 | Shichang No.3 Str. |   |
| 山科町      | 山口路  | Shankou Str.       | Combined with Baotou Str. (包头路)<br><br>Another part is Zhangqiu Str. (章邱路)<br><br>Another Chinese name is 桑梓路 |
| 順興町      | 顺兴路  | Shunxing Str.      |   |
| 神奈(川)町   | 锦州路  | Jinzhou Str.       |   |
| 山岸町      | 吉林路  | Jilin Str.         |   |
| 神社町(宮前町) |      |                    |   |
| 松阪町      | 德平路  | Deping Str.        | Another Chinese name is 桑梓路   |
| 松枝町      | 滋阳路  | Ziyang Str.        |   |
| 台東鎮一丁目   | 台东二路 | Taidong No.2 Str.  |   |
| 台東鎮二丁目   | 台东三路 | Taidong No.3 Str.  |   |
| 台東鎮三丁目   | 台东四路 | Taidong No.4 Str.  |   |
| 台東鎮四丁目   | 台东五路 | Taidong No.5 Str.  |   |



|             |      |                   |  |
|-------------|------|-------------------|--|
| 台東鎮五丁目      | 台東六路 | Taidong No.6 Str. |  |
| 台東鎮六丁目      | 台東七路 | Taidong No.7 Str. |  |
| 台東鎮七丁目      | 台東八路 | Taidong No.8 Str. |  |
| 桃之井町<br>新澤町 |      |                   | Not exist<br>Combined with<br>Zhongshan Str. (中山路) |
| 新町一丁目       | 武城路  | Wucheng Str.      |  |
| 新町二丁目       | 夏津路  | Xiajin Str.       |  |
| 新町三丁目       | 高唐路  | Gaotang Str.      |  |
| 新町四丁目       | 博平路  | Boping Str.       |  |
| 新町五丁目       | 茌平路  | Renping Str.      |  |
| 新町東通        | 清平路  | Qingping Str.     |  |
| 新町西通        | 临清路  | Linqing Str.      | North part   |
| 幸町          | 单县路  | Shanxian Str      |  |
| 港海岸通 (齐町)   | 小港沿  | Xiaogangyan       |  |
| 小田原町        | 孟庄路  | Mengchuang Str.   |  |
| 小阪町         |      |                   | Not exist  |
| 信濃町         | 无棣路  | Wudi Str.         |  |
| 信夫町         | 沾化路  | Zhanhua Str.      |  |
| 相生町         |      |                   | Not exist  |
| 萬壽町         | 万寿路  | Wanshou Str.      | Cancelled in 2002                                  |
| 吳町          | 费县路  | Feixian Str.      |  |
| 宇治町         | 禹城路  | Yucheng Str.      | Cancelled in 2009                                  |
| 有樂町         | 峰县路  | Yixian Str.       |  |
| 壹岐町         | 临淄路  | Linzi Str.        |  |

|   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|
| 鴨川町<br>雲井町  | 雒口路<br>广饶支路   | Luokou Str.<br>Guangrao<br>Branch   |   |
| 陽明町   | 阳明路   | Yangming Str.   | Cancelled in<br>2002                        |
| 伊豆町   |   |   | Combined with<br>Zhangqiu<br>Str. (章邱<br>路) |
| 櫻木町<br>賑町<br>祝町<br>住吉町                                      | 寿张路<br>阳谷路<br>旅顺路<br>姜沟路                                    | Shouzhang Str.<br>Yanggu Str.<br>Lvshun Str.<br>Jianggou Str.   | Cancelled in<br>2002                        |
| 中野町<br>筑後町<br>佐渡町<br>貯水町<br>鎮興町<br>團島町<br>釜石町<br>永樂町<br>高雄町 | 聊城路<br>济阳路<br>淄川路<br>松山路<br>振兴路<br>团岛路<br>城武路<br>鱼台路<br>邹县路 | Liaocheng Str.<br>Jiyang Str.<br>Zichuan Str.<br>Songshan Str.<br>Zhenxing Str.<br>Tuandao Str.<br>Chengwu Str.<br>Yutai Str.<br>Zouxian Str. | Another part is<br>菊川町                      |
| 明石町   | 汶上路   | Wenshang Str.   | Another part is<br>柳川町                      |
| 肴町  | 菏泽路   | Heze Str.   |   |